

STUDIES IN INDONESIAN CULTURE

II

THE COMMUNITY OF ERAI (WETAR)
(TEXTS AND NOTES)

BY

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PREFACE

Part I of my "Studies in Indonesian Culture", which was published in 1937, contained the results of linguistic and ethnological field-work at Oirata, a Timorese settlement on the island of Kisar, near the eastern extremity of Timor. The present monograph is based on data collected during a stay of 18 days at the small hamlet of Erai, one of the most archaic communities of Wetar. I am of course fully aware of the fact that the results obtained in so short a time cannot be but fragmentary and superficial in the highest degree. Yet I hope that they are sufficiently valuable and I trust they are sufficiently reliable to be published.

As regards certain methodological principles and the general purposes of my investigations in this part of Indonesia I may refer the reader to the above-mentioned first part of this series of studies. Of course I had to adapt my technique to local conditions, which were greatly different at Erai from those prevailing at Oirata. This may account among other things for the general character of the text-material collected. At Erai it would have been mere waste of time — of which I had none to spare — to hunt after an esoteric myth as I succeeded in recording at Oirata. I had to take down gratefully any tale and any informative recital any occasional visitor was willing to relate, and I had also to reckon with the limitations of my interpreter, a native government official from Ilwaki, the capital of Wetar, whose superior education did not make up for his lack of interest and his all too frequent attacks of unvincible sleepiness.

My informants were, beside the village-chief of Erai, a few inhabitants from the neighbouring villages Napar, Esulit, and Mamau. At Erai, as at Oirata, I was accompanied by my young friend J. Lico, from Moa, to whose interested and clever assistance I owe not a little.

J. P. B. DE JOSSELIN DE JONG.

Oegstgeest, October 1946.

Topographic
situation

Population

I

THE VILLAGE OF ERAI

The village of Erai¹⁾ is situated on the west coast of Wetar, near the narrow beach and a few metres above sea-level, except the north-western part (with the two guest-houses), which lies well-nigh on the same level as the beach. This part is separated from the village proper by a slope grown over with brushwood. In former times the village undoubtedly lay on some hill-top or mountain-slope farther from the coast, as is told about old-time villages in the texts (cp. e.g. 41. 14 sqq.; 53. 30 sqq.), but, as all villages in the interior, it was removed to the coast by order of the government, a measure which naturally facilitated control of native life for the administrative officials, but which was not as much to the interest of the village community itself. The remembrance of this forced removal is still kept alive by the Malay term *negri kompeni* (government-village) or Wetarese *ili tjahi* (coast- or sea-village) by which the village is indicated in contradistinction to the groups of field-huts higher up on the mountain-slopes where the population still spends most of the time.

In the first half of November 1933 the village consisted of 23 inhabited dwelling-houses, 1 uninhabited house, 1 council-house (*beleu*), 2 seclusion-huts for menstruating women, 2 guest-houses (a native one, nr. 29, and a government *pasanggrahan*, nr. 28), and 2 pigsties. The population numbered 129 souls in all, viz. 64 males and 65 females. The houses 2, 5, 11, and 12 each accommodated two households, while the houses 16 and 20 contained three households each. With four households, viz. houses 10, 16, 23, and 25, was also living a widow, mother of a householder, and houses 10, 11, 16, and 25 accommodated 7 brothers and 3 sisters of householders. The number of children of householders living with their parents amounted to 51, namely 27 boys and 24 girls. Two houses were not inhabited by a complete household, namely 19 and 26; in the former were living an elderly widow and her unmarried son, and in the latter a widower with two sons. There were 34 unmarried males and 31 unmarried females. The great majority of married men had one wife, only four of them had two wives, namely 1, 58, 68, and 116. Considering that women usually marry young (cp. p. 9 f.) — with much older men —, that moreover the surplus of women is one only, and that four men have two wives each, it is clear that the number of widows must surpass the number of widowers. This explains the fact that the group of persons living with

¹⁾ See Figs. 1 and 2 (p. 35, 36) and Population Register. In the ethnographic literature on Wetar and on some maps the name of this village is spelled *Perai*. *Perai*, however, is the name of a population group in eastern Wetar, according to tradition the oldest inhabitants of Wetar. This tribe is evidently meant in text V (48. 24 ff.).

married sons consists of four women only, and that the group of unmarried people living with married brothers or sisters comprises seven men and no more than three women. So we may conclude that there are five widows against one widower.

Lineages

The population of Erai was divided into three patrilineal, still exogamous, lineages (*raha*, lit. houses), named *Aimamau*, *Mamatjar*, and *Aai*. *Aimamau* was represented by 15 households, resident in 12 houses; *Mamatjar* by 9 households in 6 houses, and *Aai* by 6 households in 4 houses. The lineage of *Matara* (house 26) has remained uncertain. As the sketch of the village shows, the localities inhabited by each of the three lineages are not sharply separated. In general *Aimamau* is living at the eastern end of the village territory proper, whereas *Mamatjar* and *Aai* have their habitat in the North and in the South respectively, but *Aimamau* and *Mamatjar* have penetrated into *Aai* territory, where *Aimamau* has 3 houses (21, 23, and 25) and *Mamatjar* possesses 1 house (24).

The *raha* traditionally form part of larger patrilineal groups, named *lisa*²⁾ (translated with *soa* by the interpreter), which, however, are not exogamous any more. As the village population comprises no more than 3 *raha* and there is not the slightest evidence of the *lisa* still playing a rôle within the village community, there are two possibilities as regards the former relation between village, *raha*, and *lisa*: either the village has in earlier days formed part of a larger community in which, for instance, it may have formed one *lisa*, or the village community has formerly been much larger than it is at present and consisted in those days of several *lisa*, each of which was divided into *raha*. I have not been able to find out which of these two possibilities is right. During my stay there existed intimate relations between Erai and neighbouring villages, especially Napar and Esulit, somewhat less perhaps between these three villages and Ilimamau, which had already been christianized, and marriages outside the village community were by no means regarded as abnormal or in any way undesirable, but nevertheless there was no trace of larger socio-political units comprising more than one village community. Certain statements by Van Eybergen and by Riedel indeed suggest the former existence of such larger units. The former mentions an "upper-orang kaya" of Ahuru (Ilwaki, Ahuru and five more villages) who was "tuan tanah"³⁾ and Riedel, who unfortunately is not a very reliable author, also states that Ilwaki and several other villages together worshipped one sacred stone under the leadership of a priestly functionary who provided for and

Chiefs

²⁾ The term *lissa* has also been reported from Portuguese Timor in the meaning of "village". See *Adatrechtbundels bezorgd door de Commissie voor het Adatrecht en uitgegeven door het Koninklijk Instituut voor de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië* XXXIX, 1937, p. 473, 489.

³⁾ H. C. van Eybergen, *Aanteekeningen der verrigtingen van den ambtenaar ter beschikking van den Gouverneur der Moluksche Eilanden etc., Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*, 1864, p. 130.

watched over this stone ⁴⁾. In connection with this uncertainty it has also remained dubious what was the real function of the dignitary nr. 51, called *kepala soa* (Ambon Malay) by the interpreter. If this is a translation of a Wetarese term, the latter must be *lisa' upun*, which term, however, was not mentioned by any of the informants and does not occur in the texts either. It is possible that the *kepala soa* was the only remaining clan-chief, who at the time was chief of his lineage (Mamatjar) only. If the village was formerly inhabited by one clan, the *kepala soa* must have been the genealogical head of the community. However this may be, at present there are two village-chiefs: firstly, the official appointed by the Hollandish government, titled with the Malay term *orang kaja*, namely nr. 1 of the list (*Malia*), and secondly the *namo' upun*, the chief and chief-priest of the village according to native traditions. The word *namo' upun* literally means: lord (master) of the earth (land, gardens) and is invariably rendered into Malay with the well-known term *tuan tanah* (lord of the land). Informants expressly stated that the *orang kaja* had no concern whatever with "adat affairs", which were said to belong entirely and exclusively to the competence of the *namo' upun*. We shall see later on that this statement is fully confirmed by the texts. The *namo' upun* deals with all internal village affairs and in particular functions as priest and director of religious rites and ceremonies. The character of his special relations with the land will be dealt with later on (p. 26, 28).

The present state of affairs does not mean, however, that the function of the *orang kaja* is an entirely new one, created by the Hollandish administration. Very suggestive in this respect is text I, which describes the founding of Erai. This text evidently accounts for the (former) existence of two chiefs, one of which had a socio-political function, whereas the other was concerned with the religious rites. These two chiefs are here introduced as the two founders of the village community, one of whom, the *namo' upun*, the leader of the rites, is also expressly stated to be the real lord of the land because he had been the first settler.

Elders In present-day Erai the *namo' upun* is assisted by a council consisting of three elders (*laik, lalaik*). While the term (*la*)*laik* is also applied as a respectful denomination to elder householders in general, it indicates in a restricted sense the genealogical head of a lineage. So Erai has three *lalaik* proper. This council also assists the *orang kaja* and, consequently, forms an advisory body in all possible matters concerning the interests of the community as such. Further the *orang kaja* is assisted by the *marinjo*, which Portuguese-Malay term here, as elsewhere, indicates a functionary who is subordinate to the (official) village-chief, by whom he is chiefly used for transmitting news and orders and seeing that the latter are executed. For the rest, the details of the *marinjo's* office vary locally of

⁴⁾ J. G. F. Riedel, *De sluik- en kroesharige rassen tusschen Selebes en Papua*, Den Haag 1886, p. 436.

War-chief

course. And, lastly, we have to mention a very important dignitary (in former times at least), the *asuain* (*esuin*) or war-chief, who functioned as chief of the community in war-time, but probably only or mainly in matters relating to warfare. It is quite evident from the texts that he did not replace the *namo' upun*, who, indeed, as a professional priest was indispensable anyhow, but it is not quite clear in how far he took over the functions of the socio-political chief. Since the latter has been replaced by the orang kaja, who is really a government official, and warfare does not occur any more in Wetar, the relation between the two functionaries might only be learnt from oral communications, which unfortunately are not available, or from texts, which, however, are also silent on this point.

Relations with other villages

Before dealing with certain features of Erai culture about which some information has been acquired, it may be useful to summarize what we learn from the texts about the relations between Erai and other villages. It is quite obvious that, before the Netherlands authorities interfered with native life on Wetar, there existed close relations and a lively intercourse between all villages in the western coastal region from Esulit in the North to Kara in the South, inclusive of the islands of Redjung and Lirang.

Esulit

1. Esulit. According to one of the origin myths of this village (74. 36 ff.), Esulit is the name of a stone which disclosed itself to the ancestor *Maganun* as the rice- and maize-spirit and made him land near his village, henceforth called Esulit. At present Esulit is situated on the north coast of Wetar, not far to the East of the island of Redjung; in the text, however, the locality mentioned is *Nusan* (which invariably means Redjung) so that, according to this myth, Esulit was originally situated on Redjung. Another myth relates how another ancestor, *Elder Kaila*, moved from Djorai in the mountains of Naumatang to Esulit, where he founded a village on the coast, after *Tapinu* of Wesiri had founded a village in the coastal region of Naumatang (51. 36 ff.). At *Kaila's* invitation the mountain people, under *Elder Djeke* and *Elder Paga*, joins him, so that the three chiefs with their subjects are then settled in Esulit (52. 2—52. 16). The region called Sorai (almost certainly = Djorai) was still inhabited at the time by *Elder Magomi* and his people, who, attacked by the *Tugun* and assisted by Esulit, also settled in Esulit (52. 16—55. 2). About the arrival of *Tapinu* of Wesiri in the Naumatang-Esulit region we are also informed by another myth (63. 23). It narrates first how the assistance of Esulit, as of all the west coast villages, was called in by Kara, and next how *Tapinu* paid a visit to *Maganun*, while the latter was staying in Kara and was finally invited to come and settle in Naumatang. So in this myth *Maganun* is not living in Redjung any more. On the other hand, the myth which treats the origin of the bee-ritual (76) does have its place of action on Redjung, and in this myth the ancestor mentioned is not *Maganun* but *Garen*, who leaves the bee-ritual to his offspring, after having learnt it from the bee-spirits. So it is apparent from these narratives that mythical tradition divides the history of Esulit

into two periods: an earlier one, in which this community was still staying in Redjung and in which it received its ritual, and a later one, in which it was living in the Naumatang-Esulit region, entertaining relations with the whole west coast in the first place, but also with Redjung, whither people once fled for the *Tugun* (39. 10 ff.), and with Wesiri, which according to the maps is situated on the northeast coast of Wetar. The exact situation of Naumatang is still uncertain. The maps of Elbert and Riedel are contradictory on this point, but at any rate it is to be looked for in the neighbourhood of Esulit.

Napar 2. *Napar*. As we learn from text III (40), the Napar community too according to mythical tradition originates from Redjung, where *Pihori* is mentioned as ancestress. The real founder of Napar is dealt with by text IV (46). *Elder Matema* of Kara and *Elder Matutu* of Redjung together founded Napar. *Matema* arrived first and therefore remained lord over the whole region except the harbour of Napar, which was bought by *Matutu* (46. 14—47. 20). Like Esulit, Napar has repeatedly been in war with the *Tugun*: firstly after *Pihori* had been murdered, when her son *Malai* revenged her and afterwards made peace with the *Tugun* and returned to Redjung with his people; and once more later on, when the community had already settled in Napar, but had to make off to Redjung for a *Tugun* attack (50. 4). Apparently Napar entertained intimate relations with *Erai*. The two communities assisted each other against foreign invaders (61. 1; 61. 29). Napar as well as the other west coast villages participated in the meeting at Kara when this village felt threatened by enemies from the East (62. 43). And, finally, text XIV (64) indicates relations between Napar and Lirang.

3. *Erai*. In text I (37) is narrated how the ancestor of *Erai*, *Elder Naga*, after a quarrel with his brother flees from Madjar to Esulit and afterwards settles in future *Erai*, whose mountain region was already inhabited by *Elder Loko* and his community. As appears from text V (47 ff.), *Elder Naga* was a member (and most probably the head) of the lineage *Matjar* (Matjar, Madjar). At the time he was taken prisoner and abducted by Solorese people on account of a debt. Later on the Solorese gave him over to some people from Alor against payment of his debt, and finally he was ransomed by his own people. The interpreter asserted Madjar to be the Wetarese name of a small island west of Alor. So both texts give a tradition according to which *Elder Naga* originated from the Solor-Alor-region. Under the war-chiefs *Elder Kara* and *Elder Mara Erai* had to fight invaders from Damar (59. 1 ff.). It was Napar's ally against foreign invasions, as has been mentioned above. Its assistance was called in by Kara, and it was attacked by the *Tugun*, who were defeated (50. 1 ff.).

Ilimamau 4. *Ilimamau*. This village is not mentioned by name in any of the texts, but texts VIII, IX, and X were told by men from Ilimamau and relate to it. According to the last-mentioned text (58), the ancestral couple

of this village community was original from a cajaput-tree. Further text IX (57) mentions cape Pua as a place where the ancestors of the village made a garden. This cape is not to be found on the maps. According to text VIII (55. 36), one of the ancestors was married with a woman from Lemar and this couple settled in Djuruain (Tjuruain). Regarding the situation of this village the maps are contradictory once more; Riedel places it north of Erai and Elbert puts it south of Erai.

Lemar, Kara,
Klisana

A less important part is played in the texts by Lemar, mentioned above, on the southeast coast, Kara, between Lemar and the southwest point, and Klisana on the southwest coast. Texts VIII (55) and II (38. 31) show that there existed friendly relations between Ilimamau, Lemar, and Tjuruain, and also between Lemar and Klisana, whither *Maleman* took to flight after the murder on his brother-in-law from Tjuruain (text II). This murder caused war between Tjuruain and Klisana (text II). *Matema* from Kara also settled at first in Klisana, but had to fly away on account of one of his followers getting into trouble about a woman, after which incident followed the founding of Napar (IV 46—16).

Tugun

One of the most important population groups were, judging from the traditions of the western villages at least, the Tugun, their notorious and dreaded enemies. The word Tugun is nowhere expressly mentioned as the name of a village. The habitat of the Tugun cannot be determined with certainty. According to 40. 9 they were living opposite Redjung; 41. 11 ff. mentions a Tugun village on rock Sale, near the coast-place Patas Er, which, however, cannot be conclusively identified. On Elbert's map the Tugun appear not far from the southeastern point of Wetar, that is, exactly at the opposite end of the island. A Tugun village is also mentioned about the region of Parupu. This Parupu is apparently situated (or thought to be situated) on the coast (44. 1 and 45. 6—7), and Sakir is said to lie halfway between Redjung and Parupu. Another contradiction, for in that case Parupu would be in the sea east of Wetar. Probably we may assume that Parupu is somewhere east of Sakir, and this would bring us again to the eastern part of the island. It is also worth mentioning that Elbert's map gives Terupu as a place situated about halfway between cape Sakir and cape Lihutatu, that is, not much to the West of Sakir. The most probable solution of the problem would seem to be this that the Tugun made their appearance now here, then there, and possessed semi-permanent settlements in different places. Lastly, there is also made mention of a Tugun village on rock Perputi in Wetuk, somewhere in the East (as appears from 53. 24) and near the coast (as appears from 53. 33—35).

Notes about social life

Social classes

It is dubious whether at present there exists a caste- or class-system in Erai and neighbouring villages like the one so well known from several other islands in these parts. The term *Aran* for "nobleman, person of the

highest class", occurs in two texts only, namely in VII (51. 38 ff.), where we meet with *Tapinu*, *Aran* of Wesiri, and in XIII where, besides this same *Tapinu* (63. 23 ff.), a certain *Aran Elder Leo* of Kara is mentioned (62. 41 ff.). Both these texts belong to Esulit tradition and it is possible that Esulit is more old-fashioned in this respect than Erai. From the vague statements of informants I have got the impression that perhaps a few persons in present-day Erai may still lay claim to the title of *Aran*, but that it is not even quite certain who these people are — besides the *orang kaja*. The division into classes mentioned by Riedel, viz. *araan rai*, *araan lalait*, *aawut* (commoners), and *ata* (slaves) ⁵⁾, is at any rate quite obsolete in present-day Erai. The texts generally distinguish the *(la)laik* (elders, older people of standing) and the *ifo aaru* (the masses, the common people). The word *ata* does not mean "slave" in Erai, but is used in certain cases to indicate beings who are human or have been so (see Vocabulary).

Childbirth A woman in labour is assisted by another woman, who massages her until the child is born. The navelstring is cut with a sharpened piece of bamboo. The afterbirth is put into a basket, which is placed in a tree. The lyer-in is massaged with hot cloth and after this is kept lying on a bench above a fire for five days in order to make her blood coagulate, during which she eats liquid food only. Then she is able (and allowed) to resume her normal life (see text XXIV).

Marriage As a rule girls are betrothed immediately after birth. In former times the future husband took the new-born child with him and kept it, but this custom has been abolished by the Hollandish authorities. Nowadays the girl stays with her parents until she is "big", that is, about seven years old. The future husband, after having given a present of beads or copper anklets at the beginning (the act of ceremonially distraining the child), has to provide for her with rice and cloth as soon as she is able to eat. When the girl is "big" (see above), the future husband has to present his future parents-in-law with one gong, three cutlasses, and four spears, in return for which he receives one ancient bead and three ear-pendants. After this ceremonial exchange of property he is allowed to take the girl to his house, where she stays about five years. Then follows a period of two years during which the couple has to stay with and to work for the girl's parents. After that the marriage proper is at last validated by another exchange of ceremonial property between the man's and the girl's parents. From the man's side are given one pig, one gong, four cutlasses, and six spears. On the girl's side are returned one pig, one head-cloth (for the gong), four ear-pendants (for the cutlasses), and six pieces of cloth (for the spears). The two families eat each other's pigs. Further the girl receives a wedding-outfit from her parents consisting of beads, anklets, combs, cloth, jackets, sarungs, and ear-pendants, and this is the last act before

⁵⁾ Riedel, Op. cit., p. 434.

the girl being given over for good and all to the man and his people. The couple is free to settle where it wants to. When the two belong to different villages they will usually settle in the man's village (text XXI). Interlocal and local marriages are contracted in exactly the same way. This also points to the former existence of far more comprehensive socio-political units (see also p. 11).

Kinship terms

Before proceeding with a discussion of the type of marriage here we must give some attention to kinship terminology. The terms of kinship and affinity about whose meaning I feel reasonably sure have been mentioned in the Vocabulary, namely: *ali(n)*, *ama(n)*, *apu(n)*, *hain*, *ina(n)*, *ito(n)-raha*, *lain*, *naran*, *panan*, *paun*, *pên*, *riañ*, *tjurus*, *anahata*, *anamane*. There are many more terms, several of which were recorded, but I prefer leaving them out of consideration because, in the short time I had at my disposal, I have not been able to ascertain the exact meaning of some of them, while in other cases the explanations of my interpreter were obviously wrong altogether. The following points of the fragmentary terminology given here seem noteworthy. Father's brother = father (*ama*, *aman*); mother's sister = mother (*ina*, *inan*); father's sister and mother's brother are indicated by other terms (*lain* and *hain*). In accordance with this, parallel cousins are classed with brothers and sisters (*ali*, *alin*), whereas cross-cousins are terminologically classed with brothers- and sisters-in-law (*rian*, *riañ*). There is a special term denoting a man's sister and a woman's brother (*nara*, *naran*). There are also terms for "members of the lineage" (*itonraha*), and for "friends and relations" (*tjurus*).

Traces of asymmetric cross-cousin marriage

The only conclusion to be drawn from these scanty data is that we are dealing with a terminology strongly suggestive of a clan-system with cross-cousin marriage. The equalization of father's brother's children and mother's sister's children and brothers and sisters is of course consistent with a two-sided ("symmetric") as well as with a one-sided ("asymmetric") cross-cousin marriage. According to my informants no fixed connubial ties between certain lineages existed, and probably this is true enough at present, because a rigorous connubial system could not possibly be kept up by so small a population. In former times, however, the largest socio-political unit may have comprised more than one village and a number of clans (*lisa*, see above), connected by fixed connubial relations. Now the peculiar character of the exchange of marriage-gifts between the two lineages, the emphasis on the difference between the property that goes with the bridegroom (chiefly cutlasses and spears) and the property that goes with the bride (chiefly cloths)⁶, certainly suggests, though in itself does not prove, the existence of a "circulating" marriage system, in which the different unilineal groups (clans or lineages) are connected by one-sided marriage-ties. The wide distribution of this system in East-Indonesia and its implications with regard to the social, economic, and

⁶) See Text XXI.

religious aspect of native culture have been very successfully demonstrated by Van Wouden ⁷⁾, while important traces and remnants of essentially the same system have recently been brought to light for Java by Rassers ⁸⁾ in his illuminant treatise on the Javanese kris. In one of our texts (XX) a custom is mentioned which decidedly points to the earlier existence at least of the same peculiar system of relations between the unilineal groups. During the boat-building ceremonies the men of each lineage kill and cook a pig and the women of each lineage cook rice. Then "one of the lineages gives its own part to another lineage, to eat that pork and rice, and the latter lineage again gives its own part to the third lineage to eat. So the three lineages exchange their pork and rice" (80. 12 ff.). Of course the third lineage gives its own part to the first, although the text does not expressly say so. This custom proves at least, that the Erai people are not unacquainted with the ceremonial circulation of property through the community. The conjecture that the pork and the rice go in opposite directions would not be entirely unwarranted, but unfortunately it has for the time being to remain a conjecture. It is also worth mentioning that in a certain ritual connected with wild boar-hunting the *namo' upun*, addressing the maize and pork, says: "maize and pork, please go to the West and to the East" (see p. 23).

Visiting after
marriage

The statement that people after marriage "do not go to the parents' village any more" and that "the exchange of property is also finished" (82. 24) is not to be taken in a literal sense. It only means that the ceremonial relations implying obligatory visits, services, and exchange of property between the man and his lineage on the one side and the woman and her lineage on the other side or between the couple and the woman's parents, are ended when the couple is definitely married. As appears from text XXII, the visits exchanged by a mother and her daughter, married elsewhere, are of a ceremonial nature. The daughter who thus visits her mother is accompanied by her friends and relations. The visiting group is received by the mother and *her* friends and relations, and is treated with presents consisting of rice (which the visitors have to thresh themselves), maize, and ketupats; in return it leaves with the hosts a number of cloths and spears. When the informant expressly states that "each piece of cloth is laid on a plate and left with the mother and her friends", whereas nothing is said about the spears, this very probably means that the company consists of women only, and that the spears are left for the father and *his* (male) friends. Vice versa the mother and her friends, when visiting her daughter, will bring cloths for the daughter and her friends, and spears for her son-in-law and his friends. That interlocal marriages are not rare, may also be gathered from the texts. We learn that a man from Tjuruain

Interlocal
marriage

⁷⁾ F. A. E. van Wouden, *Sociale structuurtypen in de Groote Oost*, Leiden 1935.

⁸⁾ W. H. Rassers, *On the Javanese kris*, *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*, 1938, p. 501 ff.

marries a woman from Lemar (38. 31), that a man from Esulit also marries a woman from Lemar and afterwards settles with her in Tjuruain (55. 35 ff.), that a woman from Napar is married by a man from Lirang (64. 43 ff.), and in two cases marriages of this kind are connected with peace-making: when one of the ancestors of Napar, *Malai*, makes peace with the Tugun, a Napar woman is presented to the Tugun, who, in return present the Napar people with a Tugun woman (43. 9 ff.) and in the ultimate peace-ceremony of the two communities this Napar woman again figures as one of the valuables by means of which peace is made (45. 20).

Adultery and
divorce

An interesting text (XXIII) briefly explains, how adultery is looked upon and how seriously meant affairs are dealt with. As this explanation shows and as, indeed, oral information confirmed, there is only one kind of adultery which is considered to require public interference, namely the adultery committed by a married woman. Also, she herself, not her lover, has to set this treatment of her case going by confessing the act to the village elders by mediation of a friend. If the two lovers want to marry they flee into the forest; if not, they do not run away, but the confession is made in either case and the elders then have to take measures accordingly. An incidental act of adultery has to be atoned for to the woman's husband by means of one cutlass and two pieces of striped cloth, after which the guilty couple and the injured husband become reconciled by eating rice together ceremonially. Then a pig is killed and, taking some of its blood, the leading elder by pronouncing a conditional curse warns the two sinners not to repeat the act. In the other case, when the guilty couple wants to marry, the lover is allowed to dissolve the woman's marriage by paying back the marriage-gift to her husband. The latter is helped to another wife, for whom he, too, has to pay the usual marriage-gift, by the good offices of the elders.

Family
relations

The scanty text material available at present cannot be expected to inform us more than superficially and defectively about the emotional ties and other relations between relatives by blood or by marriage. It is worth noticing, however, that even our small collection of texts contains a number of rather significant data bearing directly on this important subject.

Among the not unfrequent cases of murder in revenge two illustrate the duty to revenge one's parents. The Napar ancestor *Malai*, whose mother has been slaughtered in his presence by the Tugun, is ill for two months and after that does not rest before he has taken full revenge. Among the Tjuruain ancestry it is *Mahemandjak* who, after having been slashed to death by his wife's brother *Maleman*, is revenged by his two sons. It is his wife herself who takes the initiative, and when the sons, after killing the murderer, come home and tell their mother, "her heart was at rest again" (39. 33 ff.). The formula "our father's sleeping-mat and pillow are still here", by which the sons announce that they have fulfilled their mission, probably gives to understand that the duty of revenge rests on the wife as well as on the children of a murdered man, so that a woman

Brothers-in-law

neglecting this wifely duty would thereby break all ties still existing between herself and her murdered husband. This same story is also one of the narratives which, taken together, suggest the existence of a peculiar set of relations between brothers-in-law. *Maleman*, from Lemar, goes to visit his married sister in Tjuruain, and on the way he meets with his sister's husband and kills him. No motive is given. Then he visits his sister, tells her that he has killed somebody, sharpens his cutlass, and leaves again. Obviously the woman understands what has happened, and, moreover, when her two sons come home, she has only to tell them that their uncle has come and gone away again to make them take their cutlasses and pursue him. Now it stands to reason that it cannot have been mere carelessness which made the narrator omit the most crucial points of the story. To a Wetarese, why a man murders another man, is just as important a question as it is to us. And when a Wetarese visits his sister and informs her that he has killed a stranger in the forest, it is not a matter of course that the murdered man is his brother-in-law. So, when the narrator does not explain these incidents, the reason must be that, in the given situation, he considered comment superfluous. In order to understand this it is essential not to lose sight of the fact, that in all marriage-affairs we are dealing with relations between groups. Personal relations between the individuals concerned may be very important to these individuals themselves and, eventually, may prompt them to actions which really clash with stereotyped group behaviour, but, on the whole, it is the latter which to a large extent determines the character of individual relations and individual actions. Also, it is this aspect of social culture which primarily interests mythical tradition and which indeed is dwelt upon and brought home by it again and again. Many episodes in our texts too, more or less enigmatical at first sight, undoubtedly reflect certain stereotyped relations or types of behaviour which are described by mythical tradition in terms of individual experience and adventure. Thus, in the present instance, the incident of the unexplained and seemingly senseless murder obviously reflects the antagonism between two groups allied by marriage, especially perhaps when they belong to different communities. Their relations, which are always more or less strained, may easily become openly hostile when one of the groups feels itself slighted or wronged in whatever way. There are so many possibilities of friction that incidental bloodshed or murder no more requires explanation than a characteristic symptom of some well-known disease does.

Intermarrying groups

From this point of view and especially with regard to marriage connections text III is also instructive. When *Malai* wants to make peace with the Tugun (43. 9 ff.) he visits them and presents them with a woman, *Pikopa*, and the Tugun in return give a Tugun woman, *Pileki*, to *Malai*. It is not stated whether *Pikopa* is *Malai's* sister, nor are we informed about the relation between *Malai* and *Pileki*. However, after one year *Malai* goes to visit *Pikopa* in Parupu (the Tugun village) and now it appears that he

has a brother-in-law, *Marupi*, who at the time is staying with him, and who is to follow him to Parupu. On his way thither *Marupi* is killed by his friend *Malolik*. The rumour of this murder reaches *Pikopa*, with whom *Malai* is staying. No discussion on the matter between them is mentioned; she only advises *Malai* not to travel along the coast when he returns to his home. She might do so either to prevent *Malai* from discovering the murder or to prevent the murderer from getting at *Malai* too. As she is obviously on *Malai's* side — who, in fact, takes special measures to protect her when he is going to attack Parupu later on (45. 7 ff.), — it cannot be doubted that her advice is prompted by anxiety about *Malai's* safety. *Malai* will have none of her interference. He finds the corpse and captures five men, who, before being burnt alive, tell him why *Marupi* has been killed (44. 21 ff.): *Malolik's* parents had jokingly threatened his child that *Marupi* would take it away to the Island (Redjung), that is, to *Malai's* home. "For that reason *Malolik* killed his friend *Marupi*" (44. 24). It will be clear now that the murder was not a private affair between two individuals. The situation may, with a fair degree of probability, be reconstructed as follows. Notwithstanding the peace-making and the exchange of women there is still bad feeling on the side of the Tugun, who have got the worst of it, and the usual antagonism between them as intermarrying groups is strengthened to hostility on their part. They really dislike the alliance and they strongly blame *Marupi* for visiting his sister in the enemy's village. Their pent-up feelings, ominously expressed already in the joke about *Marupi* taking *Malolik's* child to Redjung, discharge themselves in the murder on *Marupi*. *Malolik* really performs the part of executioner. He kills his friend, a member of his community, because public opinion has condemned that member to death on account of his tampering with the enemy. *Malai* is aware of the danger beforehand and tries to save his brother-in-law: he has him stay behind first and thus tries to divert the attention to himself. It is no wonder, then, that *Pikopa's* insisting on his avoiding the road along the coast suffices to make him understand what has happened. The rest of the story confirms this view of the real situation. The five men captured by *Malai* are avowedly accomplices and are prepared to pay blood-fine. Later on, when *Malai* is expected to return to Parupu whither *Malolik* has fled, the population is prepared to deliver over *Malolik* in order to save their community. *Malai*, however, is not to be placated and half of them, besides *Malolik*, are killed. *Malai* then goes back to Redjung, taking *Pikopa* with him. When, at last, peace is definitely made by means of an alliance of bloodbrotherhood, *Pikopa* is once more given to the Tugun. This time, no Tugun woman is offered in return, obviously because the Tugun woman *Pileki* had never been given back to her own people (45. 18 ff.).

Cross-cousins

The existence of special relations between brothers-in-law, who in normal circumstances often are cross-cousins, is also illustrated by two more episodes in the texts. Text VI mentions two brothers-in-law who together

Son and
sister's son

successfully fight the Tugun (50. 17 ff.). In text IX is narrated how an ancestor of Ilimamau sends his son and his sister's son to cut out a bees' nest. These two have a discussion about who is to take the nest out of the tree and, as the text has it, "the brother's son overcame the sister's son and so the sister's son went cutting out the nest (57. 10 ff.) — with fatal results owing to supernatural interference. Why? In order to answer this question we should inquire into the relations between a man, his son, his sister's son, and the customs relating to the handling of bees. Although we have not much to go upon, there is one episode which appears to be significant in this connection. In the narrative about the ritual named "calling the bees" it is told that Elder *Garen*, ancestor of Esulit, taught this ritual to his son (78. 7 ff.). Bearing in mind that in mythical traditions concerning rites and ceremonies any detail is usually meant to explain something or perhaps we should say alludes to a definite act or custom, we may confidently conclude from the above statement that the bees' ritual and the whole technique relating to bees should be handed down from father to son. This would explain why the sister's son was not allowed by the supernatural powers to cut out the nest and had to pay with his life for violating this taboo. Another instance of a mythical statement alluding to a ritual custom is to be found in text X, which narrates how the Ilimamau ancestor *Karapais*, when he was going to die, instructed his sister's son about a ritual action with regard to rice and maize (58. 18 ff.). Here again it is hardly to be doubted that this episode alludes to a special connection between certain rituals and the female line. We shall have to revert to this subject later, when treating the real function of the *namo'upun*.

Fighting,
murder, and
war

Formerly the population of Wetar, as of neighbouring islands, was notorious for its addictedness to warfare and headhunting. To the mind of the administrator of earlier days, blissfully ignorant of native culture as a rule, these two "uncivilized customs" were inseparably connected, and any sweeping measure against either would therefore have the same effect upon the other. The administration was right in so far as headhunting might easily lead to war, or rather to some indiscriminate killing, and, on the other hand, was a fairly regular concomitant of victory. However, headhunting was really a religious rite, whereas those petty wars which made life so interesting to the ancient Wetareses, might arise from any conceivable cause. Consequently, preventing people from waging war would assuredly not mean the end of headhunting — as a matter of fact headhunting has no doubt survived real warfare everywhere in the archipelago — nor would the most rigorous action against the hunting or keeping of heads at the same time put an end to any kind of bloody quarrels.

In the domain of fighting in general, as in other components of native culture, it appears to be very difficult to distinguish sharply between the individual and the collective element. The number of people directly taking

part in the fighting is of course irrelevant. A bloody duel between two people meeting in the forest, or even single-handed assassination, may in reality be the outcome of collective action, whereas, on the other hand, a murderous fight between two groups of people which at first blush would be readily taken for a regular war, may to all intents and purposes be an individual affair, no community as such having anything to do with it.

When we study the quarrels and murders described in our texts we find that in several cases we are dealing with the old feud between the western villages on one side and their arch-enemy, the Tugun tribe, on the other side. Wherever Tugun are met with there bloodshed and murder, raids of vengeance and reprisals are sure to follow. Thus the Napar ancestors *Malai* and his mother *Pihori*, after landing from Redjung in order to draw water, are surprised by Tugun and *Pihori* is murdered (40. 9 ff.). She is revenged by *Malai* and his people, but the Tugun lift up their heads again and war is resumed. For no apparent reason the Tugun successively try to attack Esulit, Napar, and Erai (50. 1 ff.), which efforts end in a small group of them being killed by two brave brothers-in-law. At another time the Tugun attack Sorai; this time again no motive is mentioned (52. 20 ff.). No doubt it is also this tribe which is meant when the western villages, threatened by enemies from the East, assemble at Kara to put an end to this situation by attacking the approaching enemy themselves (62. 41 ff.). In some other cases the general situation is different. When we are told that the ancestors of Ilimamau were attacked by enemies from another village (*hunu ili eha*), we probably have to do again with a surprise attack made by a hostile group, since the latter is immediately recognized as such by the ancestral couple when it sees them approach (58. 1 ff.). And when people from Damar come to anchor in the bay near the dwelling-place of some ancestors of Erai they also are instantly recognized as enemies, and their arrival causes a panic (59. 1 ff.). It is certainly not impossible that occasional raids from Damar were among the vicissitudes of Wetarese life in those days, and in that case the relations between the two groups were of course traditionally hostile. It cannot be denied, however, that any stranger trying to land or even to anchor near a Wetarese settlement was in great peril of being forthwith attacked and killed. When a foreign boat, manned with no more than four men, came to anchor in the bay of Napar, these people were killed and their heads were taken (61. 1 ff.). Another foreign crew of four men, who anchored in Erai river and asked the people whether there were birds, were coaxed away to the promontory and robbed of their heads likewise (61. 21 ff.). And yet another crew, said to be numerous this time, underwent the same fate, though in this instance no more than three heads were taken (61. 39 ff.). Not unlikely these episodes in mythical tradition not only illustrate, as it were, the necessity of being constantly on the alert and the concomitant suspicion of any outsider, but also reflects the overwhelming importance of headhunting to these communities. We shall have to revert

to this subject in our notes on religion. It should be noticed here, however, that not every killing is followed by the taking of heads and that, according to mythical material available, the number of heads taken was always limited.

Our texts also mention a few quarrels without actual fighting or killing. One of these is the interesting quarrel between *Naga*, ancestor of *Erai*, and his younger brother over beeswax (37. 1 ff.). The two essential points of this story are, of course, the importance of beeswax in Wetarese culture, and the separation of the two brothers previous to the founding of *Erai*, but the mythical and social background remains obscure for lack of data. Another instance of a quarrel without fighting is to be found in text IV (46. 7 ff.), where is told how the inhabitants of *Klisana* punish *Matema* and his followers (from *Kara*) for *Haru's* dealings with a *Klisana* woman: they "burnt the house in *Klisana*, threw away their rice, killed their pigs". In this as in the foregoing instance, it is true, it might be said that the flight of the threatened party prevented his being assaulted. However, in myth nothing happens merely by chance and when, therefore, in these two cases there is not mentioned any fighting or killing, the reason must be that they are, to mythical tradition and to "adat" ideas in general, essentially different in some way from the above-mentioned episodes which include murder with or without headhunting as a matter of course.

In one instance in our texts a death-sentence is executed in the form of a duel. In order to show up her rival *Pirubu*, who had robbed her of her husband, *Pirara* challenged her to a duel which was meant to be an ordeal: the victor would be accepted as the rightful wife. The husband, however, predetermines the issue by making *Pirubu* fight with a cutlass of bamboo, whereas *Pirara* is provided with a real cutlass (68. 8 ff.).

It may be presumed that murders in panic were not unfrequent, since two cases are mentioned in our texts. When the *Ilimamau* ancestor *Karapais* saw enemies approaching he "arose and was going to cut down the enemies. But he began by cutting down his wife and his people first" (58. 6 ff.). Likewise, Elder *Mara* of *Erai*, when the enemies from *Damar* were coming, "in his terror drew his cutlass and slashed his two wives to death". After defeating the *Damar* invaders he "returned to his home and saw that his two wives were dead. Then he left his cutlass and his spear with his wives, dressed himself up, and descended to the coast, following the *Damar* people, who were also going seaward. So the *Damar* people slashed him to death on this beach" (59. 12 ff.). The wording of this narrative would seem to indicate that Elder *Mara*, coming to his senses after the fight and discovering what he had done, committed suicide by surrendering to the enemy.

Our texts also give some information about the means and methods of warfare. The chief weapons were no doubt the cutlass (*opi*) and the spear (*tea*), which are frequently mentioned together: *opi noro tea* (cutlass and spear). Both these weapons also have an important ceremonial signi-

Chief weapons:
cutlass and
spear

Ways of
killing

Fighting-
methods

ficance. They play a part in the exchange of gifts on the occasion of marriage, when cutlasses and spears are exchanged for ear-pendants and pieces of cloth respectively (cp. p. 9). When Elder *Mara* is going to commit suicide, he leaves his cutlass and his spear with his dead wives (59. 12). The formula "cutlass and spear were left alone" was used to express that peace was reigning (64. 28). When mention is made of enemies being killed, this is nearly always expressed with the word *latji* (slash, cut down) (38. 36; 39. 6; 43. 28; 58. 6; 58. 15; 59. 12; 59. 26). Occasionally other ways of killing are mentioned, viz. starving (42. 6 ff.), burning alive (44. 26), trampling to death (45. 15). As to the methods of war we are told that attacks were made by preference in the early morning (39. 27; 45. 12; 53. 33). A fight was generally continued until the sun was at its zenith, as is expressly told in one place (41. 31). Attacks on hardly accessible villages had little chance of success, as we may gather from two descriptions (41. 15 ff.; 53. 34 ff.). We learn that such villages were situated on hill-tops and that they could only be reached from a tree by means of a ladder, which of course was drawn in before nightfall or when an attack was imminent. In both instances the attackers yet managed to penetrate into the village by means of their waist-bands, but in both cases their success was evidently ascribed to the supernatural power of their leaders. It was more practicable to attack a village while all men capable of bearing arms had left to hunt for pigs (41. 15 ff.) or to lie in ambush in the enemy's gardens, when he had withdrawn from an attack by flight (50. 11). There is never made any mention of prisoners of war. From the descriptions of warfare we receive the impression that beaten enemies who were not able to save themselves by flight were killed. When the Tugun attacked the village of Sorai, while the male inhabitants were absent, all women and children were killed except one little boy, who was taken along to the Tugun village and was treated there in the same manner as a captured head: he was tied to a post in the centre of the village and people danced around him (52. 30 ff.). The child was rescued before it was killed, as certainly would have happened after the festivities.

Captured heads

Corpses of
enemies

Captured heads undoubtedly formed the most important war booty. We learn that they were distributed according to fixed rules among the allies who had taken part in the fighting. When, for instance, Erai and Napar together had killed the crew of a foreign boat, the booty was distributed between the two villages, Erai receiving one and Napar three of the four captured heads conformably to the number of enemies killed by each of them (61. 6 ff.). On another occasion the crew of a foreign boat was killed by Erai people, but its master and his son fled to Napar where they were killed by Erai and Napar people together. Each village received its share of the booty: Napar got the captain's head, Erai his son's, and the boat was burned (61. 21 ff.). — Corpses of enemies slain in battle or murdered are simply left lying where they are (43. 3; 43. 30) or, at most, are loosely covered with stones and pieces of wood (40. 19). One's

Making peace

own dead are, if it is possible, buried. — We have some interesting information about the way of making peace. This may be done either with or without an alliance of blood-brotherhood. In the latter case the ceremony is very simple: there is an exchange of two women. In this way the mythical hero Malai for the first time made peace with the Tugun (43. 9 ff.). When the Tugun violated peace, they were beaten once more and after this Malay not only made peace but also contracted an alliance of blood-brotherhood with them (45. 18 ff.). The narrative of this event is concluded with the emphatic statement: "from that time up to the present day we have never been known to fight" (45. 34). Blood-brotherhood may also be contracted without a foregoing war, as was done, for instance, by Erai and Ilwaki (on Alor) (48. 35 ff.). In this case too the statement is added: "up to the present time we, Erai, and the village of Ilwaki on Alor have maintained our brotherhood because our ancestors contracted that alliance" (49. 19 ff.).

Notes about religion**Supreme Being**

The Supreme Being, named *Maromak*, is mentioned in the texts in one place only. There the context is rather dark, but there cannot be any doubt about *Maromak* ("Tuhan Allah", as the interpreter translated the name into Malay) being the Supreme Being and Creator. The name *Maromak* (*Maronac*) has also been recorded in Portuguese Timor, where it is said to be the *Tetum* (*Tetun*) name of the Creator⁹). As far as my information goes, *Maromak* is not an important figure in religious cult. Of more im-

Ancestors

portance in this respect are the ancestors. In the texts they are twice referred to collectively as *amipaun* ("our ancestors", 49. 21; 74. 14). In both passages they are mentioned in accounting for certain customs strictly adhered to. There is, however, never made any mention of praying to the collective ancestors or of making sacrifices to them. Nor are they ever appealed to collectively in our texts. People do perform such acts with regard to individual ancestors or ancestor couples. The ancestor couple of Ilimamau, *Karapais* and *Pireri*, was in former times invoked and honoured with offerings of food at the beginning of the proceedings in the gardens: the people came with rice and maize, which they threw into the ground (58. 18 ff.). In the same way *Maganu*, one of the ancestors of Esulit, is said to have been treated during the rites which must take place once in three years and which are called "calling up the rice and the maize". The prayer directed to *Maganu* on this occasion runs thus: "*Maganu*, descend with rice and maize (and make them) thrive in these gardens, cool the bodies of sick women and sick men, that they feel well. Come and eat this food, chew sirih, and smoke these cigarettes (75. 11 ff.). Another ancestor of Esulit, *Garen*, must be invoked every other year in the ritual named

⁹) Adatrechtbundel XXXIX, 1937, p. 464, 490.

Spirits

"calling the bees" (78. 7 ff.). Here we are not dealing with the ancestor or ancestor couple in the strict sense of the word, but with certain ancestors or ancestor couples who are believed to be connected with the origin of certain rites, as is told by the myths cited above. It has been pointed out before (see p. 15) that the mythical story about *Karapais* teaching the rice- and maize-rites to his sister's son clearly suggests the existence of a special connection between this agricultural rite and the female line of descent. We also learn from this myth that it is not the ancestors referred to alone who procure the health and the abundance of food prayed for, but that there is another group of superhuman beings who act thus, namely the "spirits", who in Wetar are indicated with the terms *rin* and *upun*. For all I know, the term *-rin* exclusively occurs as second member of compounds with the meaning of "multitude, crew", e.g. *loirin* "crew of the boat", *humurin* "multitude of enemies". The word *upun* may be used substantively, e.g. *upun hahate* "grandmother", *upun mamane* "grandfather". Its basic meaning is "lord, master", and when used as second member of a compound it connotes either "human chief and priest" or "spiritual being governing and representing whatever is meant by the first member of the compound, for instance, *namo'upun* "lord of the land, village-chief and priest", but also "earth-spirit"; *krai'upun* "maize-priest" (75. 25), but also "maize-spirit" (75. 14); *hatu'upun* "stone-spirit". The words *-rin* and *-upun* in the meaning of "spirit" are not quite synonymous. It would seem that *-rin* always relates to a certain kind of spirits collectively or at least to an indefinite number of them, whereas *-upun* is used — in the texts at least — when one is thinking of one or more particular spirits mentioned by name. Thus we are told about the *hatu'upun* who caused *Maganun* to found *Esulit* (74. 36 ff.). This stone-spirit, who had revealed himself in the shape of a stone, made himself known as the rice- and maize-spirit. According to tradition, he is still present in the village as an oracular stone (75. 37 ff.). In the narrative about the origin and character of the bees' ritual two *ani'upun* ("bee-spirits") are mentioned by name, viz. *Leowalu* and *Tjahiwalu* (77. 34 ff.). We are not informed about the shape in which they manifested themselves. Further, *Tonala* and *Lewala* are mentioned as the two *upun* of the "youngest" of the two chief house-posts (55. 45). In the description of the agricultural rites (68. 40 ff.) the earth-spirits are always called *namorin*, probably so in order to distinguish them from the village-chief, also officiating priest, who is always called *namo'upun*. These *namorin* are said to have a certain tree as their house and another tree as their coco-palm (79. 17). The term *-rin* is also applied to a category of beings who may be qualified as "serving-spirits". It is narrated, for instance, that Elder *Garen*, ancestor of *Esulit*, ordered his *haturin* ("stone-spirits") to go and look for the *ani'upun* ("bee-spirits") (76. 9 ff.). In this text Elder *Garen* is called the "father" of those *hatu-rin* (76. 17). They bring about the desired contact between "their father" and the *ani'upun*. It is evident, however, that the two chief house-posts

House-posts

are still more important supernatural beings. Text VIII relates that one of the ancestresses of Ilimamau, a native from Lemar, when marrying, was allowed to take along with her the youngest house-post of the parental home. "This house-post", the text informs us, "makes that our bodies are healthy, that there will be food, that it will not be difficult to get wild boars" (55. 45 ff.). In the rites it is not the house-post itself which is invoked, but his two above-mentioned *upun*: *Tonala* and *Lewala* (56. 16 ff.). The importance of the house-posts is also evident from text I where it is narrated that the house-posts were pulled out of the ground and were taken along when it became apparent that Elder *Garen* and his family were obliged to move house (37. 18 ff.). The house-posts are not only appealed to in prayer, but also receive sacrificial gifts, namely a pig, rice, sirih and pinang, and cigarettes. "The pig is roasted, the rice is cooked, put on plates according to the number of men in the village, and set out near the house-post together with the roasted pig, seven portions of pinang and sirih, and seven cigarettes. After putting [a little of] what has been prepared on a plate, the village-chief makes his address: *Lewala* and *Tonala*, come down to eat this rice and this pig, chew pinang and sirih, and smoke these cigarettes. We want to ask for rice and maize and that our bodies may be healthy" (56. 12 ff.). When the two invoked spirits are supposed to have finished eating, the men of the village are invited to come and eat the pork and the rice. Then they chew pinang and sirih, but the cigarettes are put away and will not be smoked before they are going to work in the gardens. The women never eat that rice and pork. "This custom of feeding the house-post", the text concludes, "has never been neglected from the olden times up to the present day. If we should neglect it, that would make us ill" (56. 32 ff.). The name of the eldest house-post was *Raha'ana*, which means "house-child", but nothing is said about its "spirits" (55. 42 ff.). Unfortunately no more data about the belief regarding house-posts are available.

Agricultural rites

The texts also contain information about other religious rites. The agricultural rites proper specially concern the so-called "gardens of value": gardens which are not new and in which there are already fruit-trees or other permanent plants, whereas the work in the "empty gardens", newly made in the forest, does not require any rites. The only rule to be observed is the custom that the village-chief (*namo'upun*) ought to perform every act first; moreover it is not allowed to beat the drums and the gongs during any part of the activities. The proceedings with regard to the work in the gardens of value are as follows. First there is made a small sacrificial garden in the forest. There a pig and rice are offered to the earth-spirits (*namorin*) by the village-chief, who invokes them with these words: "I invite the earth-spirits to come and eat this pig and this rice" (69. 1 ff.). Then he kills the pig and examines its liver. If the latter is not "good" and "strong", another pig is killed, and so on, until the liver is found to be satisfactory. The pig's neck-beef, together with rice, is laid out for the

earth-spirits and the rest of the pig and the rice are eaten by the people of the village. After this sacrificial meal all go to the gardens to work there, the village-chief's garden being prepared first. Every night they go to the gardens of value, beat the drums and the gongs, and dance and sing till day-break (69. 21 ff.). They keep doing this until the time has come for burning off the garden. Then exactly the same sacrificial rite is performed, after which the gardens are burned off. The night after the burning is spent in the sacrificial garden, where they keep dancing and singing and beating the drums and the gongs till day-break. At that time the village-chief thus addresses the earth-spirits: "earth-spirits, come and eat this pig and rice, that we may cool down the fire that is devouring the gardens, the stones, and the earth, cooling it down by means of this pig" (70. 5 ff.). After the sacrificial meal that follows it is about time for the rains to come and when this happens, the same rite is performed, the earth-spirits being told: "earth spirits, come and eat this pig and this rice. We shall put away drums and gongs and leave off dancing and singing, just leave it off here" (71. 3 ff.). After the sacrificial meal the participants together cry out: "ah!" and invoke the earth-spirits thus: "earth-spirits! bring rice, maize, pumpkins, cucumbers, shaddocks, yams, sweet potatoes, bring them to these gardens" (71. 20 ff.). After this they sow maize. During the time between sowing and harvesting they amuse themselves with dancing and singing and beating the drums and the gongs. When the time for the harvest has come, the earth-spirits are once more invoked by the village-chief with these words: "all the earth-spirits here, we want to eat rice and maize; you come, that we may feast together!" (72. 2 ff.). After the customary sacrificial meal the drums and gongs are put away once more. When harvesting is finished, the rites are repeated and the village-chief addresses the earth-spirits thus: "earth-spirits, you come and eat this rice and pork. We want to leave and go to a good place. The drums and gongs are not beaten anymore" (72. 30 ff.). This means that the people leave the outlying gardens and will stay in the "government village" until next year, when it is time again to prepare the gardens for sowing. During this whole period the drums and gongs are never beaten. We notice that drumming and beating the gongs is forbidden: during sowing and planting, during harvesting, and from harvest-time till the beginning of gardening next year. So the drums and gongs are only in use during the preparing (inclusive burning) of the gardens, during the short period between the burning and the coming of the rains, and during the ripening of the crop. Text XIX gives some interesting particulars regarding the agricultural rites at Esulit, as they were performed in former times. When the maize has grown up to the height of "about a pigeon's leg", the village elders order the people to build a house in the centre of the village and a roasting-place. When this has been done the people are ordered to go hunting pigs. When they catch a boar, this is roasted, brought to the house and divided between the villagers. At day-break next day they go

Ritual
pig-hunting in
connection with
gardening

Ceremonial
confession

to sow the rice. During the time between sowing and harvesting they keep hunting every clay. If, some day, they do not catch a wild boar, this is considered to be sign that somebody has done something wrong. Then the people of the village are thus addressed by the village elders: "who has done anything wrong to-day, that we did not catch the boar? It must be owing to somebody doing something wrong, for example somebody may have been doing wrong with somebody else's wife, or else he may have been burning trees in the gardens, or else he may have burnt some of the *pula*-trees, [which is forbidden] because those [other] trees are the earth-spirits' houses and the *pula*-trees are the earth-spirits' coco-trees!" (79. 12 ff.)¹⁰). If anybody confesses that he has sinned in any of the ways just-mentioned, they once more bring a pig, kill it, roast it, take its liver to the village-chief to be inspected. If the liver is not good, another pig is killed, if it is good, they kill no more. The pig is cut up and distributed among the villagers. They keep hunting boars. Whenever no boar is caught, the same ritual is repeated. During this period of gardening it is forbidden to distribute pork to the people of other villages. When the latter come to Esulit they are allowed to eat pork there, but not to take the meat along. When the maize has become dry, a little of it is put away in the house and in the roasting-place. Then the village-chief thus addresses the maize and the pork: "maize and pork, please go to the West and to the East!" (79. 36 ff.). Then a pig is killed again and now it may also be distributed among people of other villages, because it is not taboo any longer.

Another ritual, namely "calling the bees", is accounted for and described by text XVIII. Elder *Garen*, ancestor of Esulit, had sent out his stone-spirits to look for the bee-spirits. The latter, (*Leowalu* and *Tjahiwalu*) said to the stone-spirits: "we two are the ones who take care of the bees; you go back and tell your father [i.e. *Garen*] that you found us and that we instructed you thus: build a boat, kill a pig, cook rice, and put it in the boat, call out our names, then we shall make the bees go and stay on the Island". And they added: "that pig should not be a red one, what we want is a black pig" (76. 17 ff.). Elder *Garen* followed this instruction, adding seven pinang nuts, seven pieces of sirih, and seven cigarettes to the pork and rice. All this was put into a boat, built for this purpose, and then he invoked the bee-spirits with these words: "*Tjahiwalu* and *Leowalu*, you two bring bees and make the Island swarm with them. You two come and eat this rice and pork, chew these seven pinang nuts and smoke these seven cigarettes" (77. 34 ff.). Then the bees came and nestled on the mast of the boat. The offerings were consumed by the men, the women, however, were not allowed to eat the rice and pork or to chew pinang and sirih. The cigarettes were left alone until the bee-season, when they were smoked in the places where bees were found. This rite was kept up by

¹⁰) This place is not quite clear, but at any rate certain trees are considered as houses or as coco-trees of the earth-spirits.

Garen's descendants, it was performed every other year. It is believed that the people would die if they omitted calling the bees. As has been pointed out above (p. 15), we may assume that this ritual was inherited in the male line. This patrilineal character may be connected with the women's being excluded from the sacrificial meal.

Boat-building ritual

Offerings of pork and rice, and of fish and rice, are also made in connection with boat-building (text XX), but there is made no mention of any spirits who are invoked and offered to on this occasion. The most interesting feature of this ritual, which has been already dealt with in another place (p. 11), is the circulating of the offered food among the three lineages. The leaders of the boat-building ritual are the elders. It should also be noted that all the acts concerning the offered pigs are done by the men, even the cooking of the meat.

Death-ritual

The death-ritual too has some notable features. The lineage of the deceased is presented by the other lineages with four fathoms of foreign cloth. Those other lineages do not join in the ritual wailing. The deceased is buried by the male members of his lineage, the women staying at home wailing and cooking food for those men. When the latter come home after the burial, they have a meal of rice, while the share of the deceased is poured out in a coconut shell. Before eating the men call out to the deceased: "come, let us eat this rice!" (87. 26). The deceased's share remains lying on the ground until it is eaten by the dogs. On the fourth night after the decease the village elders meet in council and have a pig killed and rice cooked in the deceased's house. Some rice and pork is put on the deceased's plate. Then each member of his lineage brings offerings of maize, rice, sweet potatoes, and cassave, and takes them to a certain place¹¹). The people of the other lineages likewise take rice to that place and pour it out. The widow takes her late husband's plate with rice and pork to the same place and throws it to pieces, leaving the contents where they are. After this there is a meal of rice and pork, first for the men who have buried the deceased and afterwards for the other people. Finally the women of the other lineages come and take up the rice and the maize and other things that have been thrown down and take them home. Early next morning one of the elders belonging to the lineage of the deceased burns a piece of cloth, saying: "we depart from this house, don't you make us ill because we have departed" (88. 30 ff.). When this has been said, the people separate and go home.

Head-hunting

When we study the texts with regard to the custom or rather the rite of head-hunting, we are faced with the problem, what were the conditions for taking or not taking the heads of slain enemies. Altogether there are thirteen cases of murder or killing after a fight, but in five of these only there is made any mention of the capturing of heads. This custom is

¹¹) The text has *sala'un* (lit. road-eye). Probably it means the place where the road begins.

evidently thought to be of such importance that when a narrative is silent about it, this cannot be ascribed to mere forgetfulness or indifference of the narrator. Although the material available is too scanty to warrant a definite conclusion, it is yet significant enough to take us a little farther. When we examine the occasions on which no heads were taken, we find that, except in one case (the murder of Malai's mother, (40. 6 ff.), about the cause of which we are not informed), we are always dealing with acts of revenge on account of old feuds or recent murders. Five of the cases are episodes in the campaign of vengeance of Malai against the Tugun, in which some of the latter are starved, some are burnt alive, and others are just killed (41. 31 ff.; 42. 5 ff.; 43. 28 ff.; 44. 26 ff.; 45. 14 ff.). The seventh case is the attack of people from Ilwaki (Alor) on the village of Perai (48. 24 ff.). In this instance too we have undoubtedly to do with an act of vengeance, since the narrative makes it clear that those Alorese people had come purposely in order to attack that particular village. The last case, finally, is the retaliation of Esulit for the massacre of most of their women and children by the Tugun (54, 6 ff.). When we now look at the cases of fights which were concluded with the capturing of heads, we find that, without any exception, they were acts of defensive warfare against foreigners (51. 7 ff.; 60. 7 ff.; 61. 11 ff.; 61. 35 ff.; 62. 10 ff.). So, as far as our data go, they would seem to suggest, that the rite of the capturing of heads was not performed as an act of retaliation or the conclusion of a premeditated attack, but as part of defensive war against an attack or imminent attack by strangers, and as such both required and justified. The captured heads were put on a post in the centre of the village and people danced round it, day and night, until the fifth day, when the skulls were apparently put in a solitary place, by preference on a promontory (61. 11 ff.; 61. 35 ff.; 62. 10 ff.; 51. 7 ff.; 60. 7 ff.). In one place we are told that on the fifth night they killed a pig, roasted it, and cut it up, stringing together four pieces for each of the skulls and two packets of cooked rice for each of them. After taking this food to the skulls, they addressed them as follows: "now we are going to separate, you four take this pork and this rice along with you to eat while travelling until you arrive at your village" (60. 10 ff.). The usual number of heads to be taken was four, even if the number of enemies killed was much larger.

Blood-
brotherhood

The last ritual act to be mentioned here is the rite of contracting an alliance of bloodbrotherhood. The word for bloodbrotherhood is *asuran*, which also means "lasting peace". Contracting this alliance is rendered by *rohi asuran* ("make bloodbrotherhood") or by *rohirohi alin* (lit. "make each other brothers"). According to the interpreter this alliance corresponds with the one called *pela* in Ambon and surroundings. It is a very solid alliance, ritually sanctioned, between groups, e.g. villages. In our texts it is mentioned twice, firstly in the narrative about *Malai*, who finally made lasting peace with the Tugun. Here the rite is described thus: "When

they arrived at Parupu they made peace by means of a pig, a dog, that woman *Pikopa*, and the water of a young coconut, mixing that coconut water with blood from their hands. When all the people were assembled, *Malai* rose and said: "on this day I and the Tugun pledge ourselves to lasting peace; don't ever fight each other again. If anybody should do that, the pig's blood and the dog's blood will get at him first and kill him and all his people; only birds will be heard, only pigs and dogs will be wandering about". When *Malai* had finished speaking, they all drank the coconut water mixed with the blood" (45. 20 ff.). The second case mentioned in the texts is the alliance between the villages of Ilwaki (Alor) and Erai. This description gives some more details, namely the conditions of the alliance proposed and accepted by either party. These were as follows. When Ilwaki people would come to Erai, they would receive beewax and peeled rice "to clean their boat", and they would be allowed to take maize and rice from a garden but not out of a house. When Erai people would visit Ilwaki, they would be free to take fish out of a small canoe, but not out of a large boat. Moreover, both parties agreed not to molest each other's wives (48. 35 ff.).

A conditional curse similar to the one mentioned just now was also pronounced when a couple guilty of adultery was ritually purified (cp. p. 12). In this case the guilty couple is threatened with paralysis if they will sin again and, after the killing of a pig are told once more by the elders: "if you sin again, the pig's blood will cut your feet and your hands, you will be paralysed" (84. 30 ff.).

Priestly

functionaries

In the texts are mentioned three kinds of priestly functionaries, namely the *namo'upun*, the *krai'upun*, and the *lalaik*. As we have seen before, the *namo'upun* ("lord of the land", *tuan tanah*) is village-chief and chief priest, whereas the present-day *orang-kaja* is an official appointed by the government who, as such, has no concern with "adat-affairs". As we have also pointed out before, this does not necessarily imply that the function of *orang-kaja* has been altogether created by the government. The *orang-kaja* who was in function during my stay at Erai did not owe his real authority and prestige exclusively to his being appointed by the government. His functions as a government official most likely were the least important of his duties according to his own and the people's appreciation. From several texts we may conclude that the double chieftainship was a well-known institution here in former times. Text I is particularly clear on this point; it characterizes and accounts for the present-day double chieftainship at Erai. The ancestor Elder *Naga*, looking for a new home after quarrelling with his brother, met with Elder *Loko*, who was chief of a village in the mountains: "When they met", the text continues, "he persuaded the latter to come down to the coast. Elder *Loko* followed Elder *Naga* to the coast. They founded a village on this coast. When they had built the village, Elder *Loko* said to Elder *Naga*: you take the coastal part, I take the mountain region, for you first found and took possession of the

coast. Elder *Naga* said to Elder *Loko*: both the coast and the mountain region are yours alone, because you were staying here already. Elder *Loko* answered: so be it then; when guests arrive, Elder *Naga* will first welcome them with sirih and Elder *Loko* will be the one who calls up the spirits of the earth. For that reason he was called lord of the land" (37. 24 ff.). In this text the two functionaries are clearly characterized: Elder *Naga* represents the community in socio-political affairs, and Elder *Loko* is the mediator between the community and the spirits of the earth, his function is a religious one. At the same time this statement indicates that the entertaining of relations with the earth-spirits is considered a priestly function of primary importance. It is expressly stated that the *namo'upun* is the only one who invokes the earth-spirits. We have seen that he is the one, also, who leads all the activities in the gardens; every act must be performed by him first. He also functions as priest in the house-post ritual (56. 16 ff.). This suggests that the spirits of the house-post who are invoked in order to secure health and abundance of rice, maize, and pigs, really belongs to the earth-spirits and that the house-post itself is regarded as a particular kind of tree in which these spirits reside. That certain trees are believed to be the dwelling-places of the earth-spirits also appears from the description of the agricultural rites (79. 13 ff.).

Maize-priest
and maize-spirit

In the ritual named "calling the rice", however, it is not the *namo'upun* who is the leader, but the *krai'upun* (maize-priest, lit. maize-lord), and it is not the earth-spirits who are invoked, but the ancestor *Maganu* (text XVII). This *krai'upun*, whose operations obviously concern not only the maize, but the products of horticulture in general, and rice and maize especially, was never mentioned, either orally or in the texts, at Erai. The text relating to him originates from Esulit. According to this myth the ritual was first performed by the ancestor *Maganu*, to whom it was revealed by the "rice- and maize-spirit" (*reha noro krai'upun*) manifesting itself in the shape of a stone. *Maganu* actually "saw that there was rice and maize in that stone" (75. 5 ff.). It was implanted in the earth at Esulit and was since used as an oracle: "if we want to see whether the gardens will give plenty or want, we look at the stone: if the earth rises so that only one finger's length of the stone remains visible, there will be plenty; we see that there will be want, if the earth sinks and the stone is tall. Our custom of calling up the rice is not abolished, because it is exceedingly sacred; if we abolished it, we should die all of us" (75. 37 ff.). Most probably the Esulit people also knew a "bee-priest", likewise named *ani'upun*. In their myth about the rites named "calling the bees" there is made mention of the ancestor *Garen*, who, together with the bee-spirits (*ani'upun*) *Leowalu* and *Tjahiwalu*, is invoked, but it is not expressly stated by whom this is done. However, the parallelism between this rite and "calling the rice", and between the two origin myths makes it exceedingly probable that the *krai'upun* (maize-priest) has a colleague named *ani'upun*.

Identity of
maize-spirit and
oracle-stone

Bee-priest and
bee-spirit

(bee-priest). And we may presume that there are still more priestly specialists of this kind, at Esulit at least.

**Patrilineal and
matrilineal rites**

In comparing the two myths one is struck by another interesting trait. The rice-and-maize-ritual was left by *Maganu* to *nianahira* (his children) and was performed for the first time by the maize-priest *Makele*. The bee-ritual was handed down by *Garen* to his son *Materi*. This suggests that *Makele* was *Maganu's* son and that *Materi* was the first bee-priest, both rituals being passed on from father to son, consequently, in the male line. As we have seen before, there are also rites that evidently should be handed on in the female line (cp. p. 19, 54).

**Possible matri-
lineal character
of function of
*namo'upun***

In this connection we may revert once more to the *namo'upun*, the most important of all priestly functionaries, "lord of the land", "garden-priest", and village-chief at the same time. As we have seen, he is believed to entertain the necessary relations, not only with the earth-spirits, but also with the spirits of the house-post. According to the origin-myth of the last-mentioned ritual, the house-post was given by a man to his sister when she married and left her home. If this has any significance at all, it must mean that this ritual was inherited in the female line. We have no definite statement, as regards this point, about the horticultural rites or the function of the *namo'upun* in general, but we may expect that further evidence would show the matrilineal character of both. For the time being this is all we can say about it. Whoever is of the opinion that our scanty data do not even justify this presumption, may be referred to Rassers' treatise "On the Javanese kris", in which new light is thrown on the patrilineal and matrilineal aspects of society in Indonesian cosmology¹²).

**Priestly func-
tions of elders**

The priestly functions of the elders, finally, are of little importance. They lead the ceremonial boar-hunt after the sowing of the maize (p. 22) and, whenever no boar is caught, make people confess their wrong-doings which may be the cause of this disaster, but they do not themselves make the required offerings to the earth-spirits. They also take the lead of boat-building activities, which imply a rice- and fish-offering laid down by each man on the prow of his boat, but there is no mention made of any prayers or invocations (p. 11, 24). Further their action is required in cases of adultery, when they not only have to pronounce a conditional curse, but also have to inspect the sacrificial pig's liver. But on this occasion too no spirits or other supernatural beings are invoked or prayed to (p. 12). Finally, the leadership of the death-ritual is in their hands, and it is one of the elders belonging to the lineage of the deceased who addresses the latter at the close of the ceremonies (p. 24). Of course the duties of the elders comprise much more than what is mentioned in these texts, but their preponderantly socio-political character is sufficiently clear.

¹²) Rassers, Op. cit.

Notes on material culture and economy

Horticulture

The chief means of subsistence is horticulture. There are two kinds of gardens: "gardens of value" (*tea haheli*) and "empty gardens" (*tea mamusun*). The former are gardens which are more valuable because there are fruittrees and other durable plants in them. To these are periodically added the usual crops. These gardens are privately owned, as is also evident from text XV, where no mention is made of new clearing or reclaiming. Empty gardens, on the other hand, have no durable plants. They may have been used before or they may be patches of forest ground newly cleared. Nobody can claim them as private property, but they may be used by whomsoever intends making a garden. The only formality required for the claiming of an empty garden is the duty of informing the village-chief of one's intention to do so at the beginning of the planting-season. And the only ceremonial element connected with labour in these gardens is that here too every horticultural act must be performed by the village-chief first. Further, during the activities in the empty gardens no beating of drums or gongs is allowed at all. The usual course of ritual and technical activities in the gardens of value is described in text XV. The rites have been dealt with before (p. 21 ff.). The horticultural process proper may be recapitulated as follows. First the gardens are cleared of undergrowth and weeds by means of burning. Then the rains are awaited and when the rainy season has definitely set in, they sow and plant. First of all the maize. When the maize has come up, the rice is sown (79. 6). When the maize and the rice are ripe, which happens simultaneously, they are harvested. The rice is stowed away in the granary and the maize is hung up in bundles on posts (70. 1 ff.). Maize and rice are the most important, the most precious of horticultural products. They are repeatedly mentioned together (56. 21; 71. 26; 72. 3; 74. 10; 75. 4). It may safely be stated that *reha* (rice) usually means rice and maize. Rice and maize are also mentioned separately as presents to guests (83. 5; 83. 9). Also, white rice is mentioned in connection with sacrificial or other rites (56. 11; 84. 20). Other vegetable products mentioned in the texts are pumpkins (*keliñ*), cucumbers (*kapuan*), shaddocks (*le*), manioc (*hilu*), sweet potatoes (*hamitjai*) (71. 20 ff.), a kind of legume (*kaila*), coconuts (*no*), breadfruit (*ulu*) (63. 21) and millet (*hetan*). Besides these, which are expressly enumerated in the texts, there are many others which are also known by Wetarese names and are doubtless cultivated as well. The most important are the following: cultivated banana (*mu*; a wild banana is also known: *kupi*), mangifera indica (*gape*, Mal. *mangga*), a kind of orange (*sapuraka*, Mal. *djeruk*), eugenia (*tenu*, Mal. *djambu*), sugar-cane (*tehu*), areca (*pua*, Mal. *pinang*), piper betle (*malu*, Mal. *sirih*) (although according to my informants *sirih* is not indigenous in the island, but is imported by Chinese traders. There is no native name for tobacco (it is called *tabaku*), but it is cultivated and there is clearly enough of it seeing

that it has very little value as an article of trade. Further there are the usual tuberous plants, as colocasia (*huti*, Mal. *keladi*), there are onions (*lesone*) and sago (*kamariu*). Although rice and maize are rated higher than any other vegetable product, they are probably not the staple-food proper. The fact that they are the most important ritual foods is significant. Most probably root crops and — during part of the year — sago form the customary every-day food.

Fishing

Next to horticulture also fishing is to be mentioned as one of the means of subsistence. Beside fish there are of course many other sea-animals which are caught and eaten, as eels (*tuna*), shrimps (*urani*), turtles (*enu*), and various kinds of shellfish (*kima*, *si*). During a certain time — or certain times — of the year short fishing-expeditions are undertaken in which most of the male members of the community take part. One of these times is the short period between the burning of the gardens and the setting in of the rains about the beginning of November. Fish is caught a.o. by means of bow-nets plaited of strips of lontar palmleaves or by spearing. No doubt there are also other methods in use.

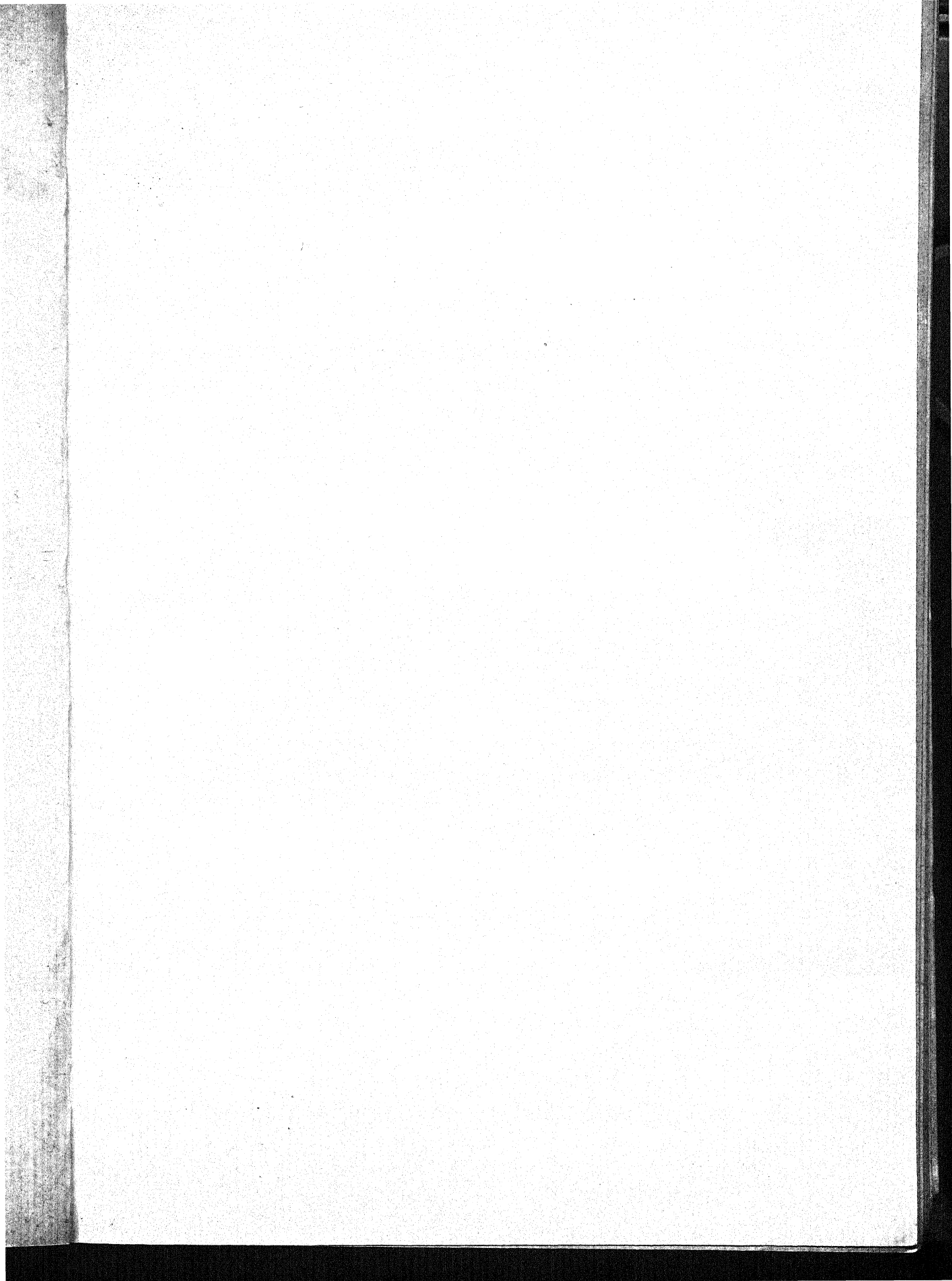
Hunting, as far as I have been able to find out, does not play a part of any importance in Erai life. Wild boars are occasionally hunted, probably for ritual purposes only.

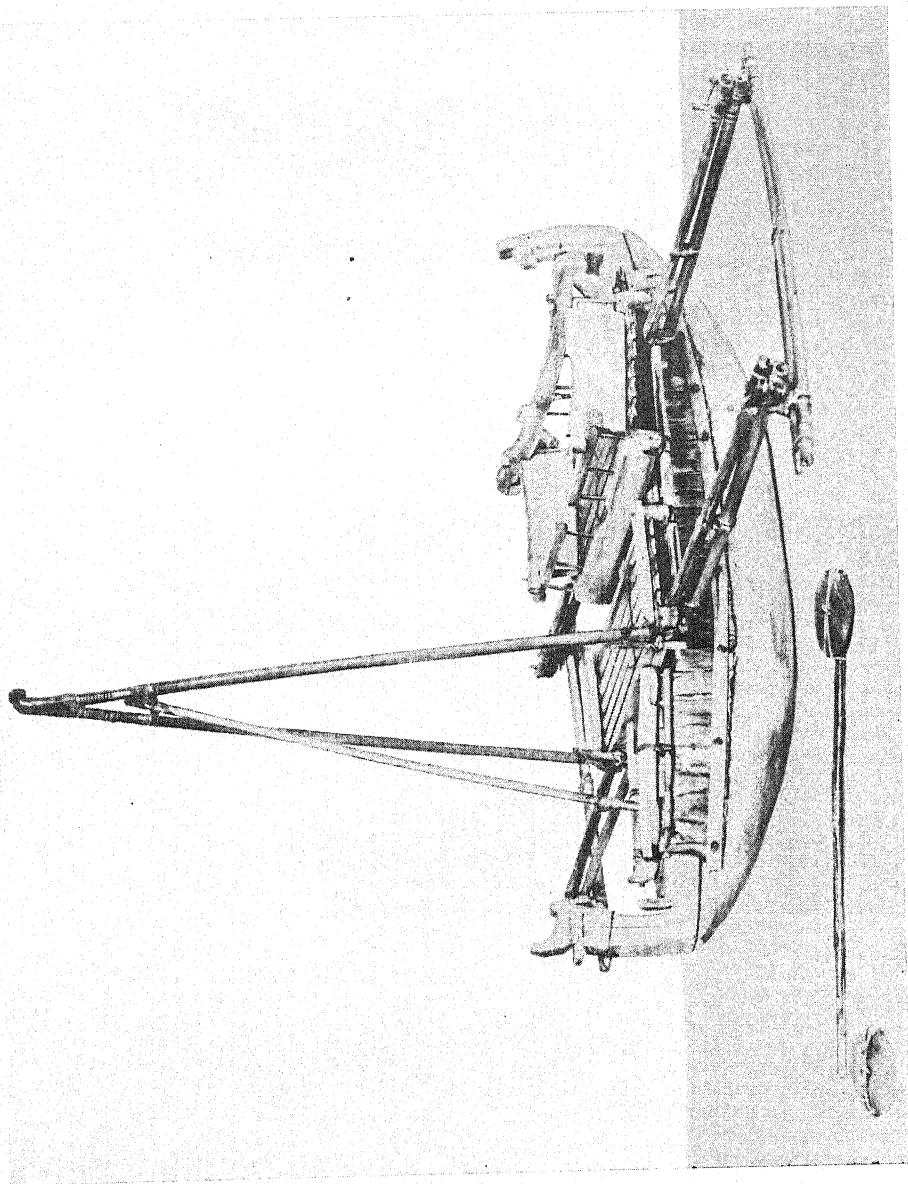
The bees

Great is the interest in bees. Bee-culture is unknown, but at certain times and in certain places wild bee-nests are abundant and, as we have seen (text XVIII) there is performed a special ritual to attract them and to make them thrive. Honey is a favourite delicacy and bee-wax is one of the most prominent articles of exchange.

Exchange of property

A few data relating to economic life may be added here. In text V we are told that *Matema* bought the harbour of Napar, for which he had to pay two large dishes filled with ancient beads and valuables of gold. The beads in question were *enurare* (aggri-beads). Aggri-beads and pieces of cloth are given in reward of assistance in war (54. 37) and, as we have seen, these objects also function in the exchange of property in connection with marriage (9). Text V relates how a debtor, not being able to pay his debt in bee-wax, was taken along by his creditors, given over to a third party which was willing to pay for him (48. 9 ff.), and was set free at last in exchange for a dish of bee-wax for which then, as a return gift, a large gong was paid (48. 29 ff.). This transaction clearly has a ceremonial and an economic aspect. The alliance of bloodbrotherhood which was contracted after the above-mentioned procedure by the two parties (Erai and Ilwaki), likewise has an important economic significance, as it is attended with a kind of ceremonially indicated treaty implying that Ilwaki when it visits Erai will receive a certain quantity of peeled rice and bee-wax and that, apart from this, Erai will receive fish in exchange for maize and rice. The importance of bee-wax as an article of exchange is also illustrated by text III (44. 18) where we are told that bee-wax is presented as an expiatory gift after a murder.





Model of Wetarese boat (see p. 31).

Finally a few random notes on the most valuable material object next to the house: the boat. The general term for ship is *loi*. This term may be used both for large and for very small boats, but the two may be distinguished by the terms of *loiinan* (lit. boat-mother) and *bero* or *sapan* respectively. This is confirmed by our texts: *loi* and *loiinan* are both of them used for boats containing a number of people (37. 10, 21; 59. 4; 61. 7, 21). A small vessel (with two persons is also called *loi* (40. 8). In text V *loiinan* and *sapan* are used for a large and a small vessel respectively. The term *loianan* (lit. boat-child), finally, is used for a vessel in miniature, manufactured for ritual purposes (40. 27). The term *sapan* is of course the local variant of the well-known word *sampan* which in a large part of the archipelago occurs as a term indicating different types of vessels, whereas the use of the terms *loi* and *bero* seems to be restricted to the Timor archipelago and the Southwestern islands (cp. C. Nooteboom, *De boomstamkano in Indonesië*, Leiden 1932, Register s.v.v. *loi*, *bero*). Various types of vessels are nowadays in use on the coasts of Wetar, most of which are also found elsewhere in these parts, but there is one type which may be said to be characteristic of Wetar. It has been described in detail by Nooteboom in his above-mentioned work (chapter X). Some fragmentary data I have been able to collect, chiefly some names of parts and some measures follow here.

The Wetarese boat is a dug-out canoe, provided with a washstrake (*loikaripik*) of lontar palmleaf, outrigger floats (*loisemañ*) of wood, connected across the body of the canoe by means of booms (*loikwea*) of bamboo, two or more platforms (*loikratjak*) of bamboo in wooden frames, a tripod mast (*loiailaran*) of bamboo with a rectangular sail (*loila*) of lontar palmleaf, kept stretched by means of bamboo spars (*selak*). The anchor (*hatutara*) is a stone with a hole in it. The anchor-rope is called *hatutaratalin*. Further there are the peddles (*loiwese*) (consisting of two parts), the prow (*aras*) and the stern (*liu*), both of which are built up of separate blocks of wood on top of the ends of the dug-out. The upper part of the stern is named *loitures*. The rough model shown on the plate next this p. was made for me at Erai. The proportions are by no means correct; therefore the chief measures of one of the canoes in use during my stay are given here: total length 620 centimetres; total width 53 cm.; height of mast 310 cm.; length of outrigger floats 350 cm.; length of booms 420 cm.; depth of wooden hull 45 cm.; height of wash-strake 22 cm.; length and breadth of sail 480 and 200 cm.

II

POPULATION REGISTER

(X means men; — means women; numbers in heavy type indicate house, cp. Fig. 2, p. 36)

Nrs	Names	Parents	Children	Broth. and sisters	Grand-parents	Raha (lineage)	Nrs	Names	Parents	Children	Broth. and sisters	Grand-parents	Raha (lineage)
1						Aimamau	38	Pikasa	—				
1	Malia	X					39	Pikena		—			
2	Pikoko	—					40	Pikena				—	
3	Pirunuk	—					41	Malaga			X		
4	Malele		X				42	Malekik(i)			X		
5	Managa		X				11						
6	(No name yet)		X				43	Matjai	X				Aimamau
2							44	Pipui	—				
7	Mapa	X				Aimamau	45	Mapenu			X		
8	Pitjau	—					46	Pihidja			—		
9	Maleruk		X				47	Pimelar			—		
10	Malagur	X				Aimamau	48	Malogo	X				Aimamau
11	Piloe	—					49	Piluas	—				
12	Matje		X				50	Makoba				X	
13	Matahar		X				12						
14	Maseron		X				51	Mapaju	X				Mamatjar
15	Pisoma		—				52	Pidjele	—				
4							53	Masanak	X		X		Mamatjar
16	Makai	X				Aimamau	54	Makoko	—				
17	Pikoe	—					55	Pigalir			—		
18	Mamoso		X				56	Pisipi			X		
5							57	Maserak					
19	Matjari	X				Aimamau	13						
20	Pisaja	—					58	Madjola	X				Mamatjar
21	Malai		X				59	Pikoko	—				
22	Piraja		—				60	Pilaun	—				
23	Mapenu		X				14						
24	Pisipi		—				61	Mamadja	X				Mamatjar
25	Mapiku	X				Aimamau	62	Pitjotjo	—		X		
26	Pibaru	—					63	Maia					
7							64	Pisawi			—		
27	Maleruk	X				Aimamau	65	Marupi			X		
28	Pidjai	—					66	Piradja			—		
29	Malai		X				67	Masanak			X		
8							15						
30	Masanak	X				Aimamau	68	Malebu		X			Mamatjar
31	Pipui	—					69	Pisipi		—			
9							70	Pisoma	—				
32	Mametan	X				Aimamau	71	Piaugun			—		
33	Pilurun	—					72	Matahar			X		
34	Pituar			—			73	Mametju			X		
35	Pipugin			—			74	Pikloin			—		
36	Malaga			X			75	Malebu			X		
10							16						
37	Makai	X				Aimamau	76	Maiko	X				Mamatjar

Nrs.	Names	Parents	Children	Broth. and sisters	Grand-parents	Raha (lineage)	Nrs.	Names	Parents	Children	Broth. and sisters	Grand-parents	Raha (lineage)
77	Pilihuk	-				Mamatjar	104	Pihau		-			
78	Pimoin		-				105	Malai	×				Aai
79	Makara	×					106	Pikles	-				
80	Pinai	-					107	Malai	×				Aai
81	Pimelar		-				108	Pipui	-				
82	Pisalan				-	Mamatjar	21						
83	Malai			×			109	Malekik	×				Aimamau
84	Pimau			-			110	Pioruk	-				
85	Mamuho			×			111	Mamonuk		×			
86	Pipahe			-			112	Pinai			-		
87	Maharek	×				Aai	23						
88	Pipisa	-					113	Mari	×				Aimamau
89	Matjai			×			114	Pisahuk	-				
90	Pisalan		-				115	Piroik				-	
17							24						
91	Maloi	×				Aai	116	Madjeke	×				Mamatjar
92	Pinugun	-					117	Pipugin	-				
93	Madjeke		×				118	Pireko	-				
94	Mauluk		×				119	Pisaja		-			
95	Pitai		-				120	Pihidja		-			
18						Aai	121	Pitapak		-			
96	Mananis	×					25						
97	Pinai	-					122	Mabaha	×				Aimamau
98	Pilalu		-				123	Pilogi	-				
19							124	Piru		-			
99	Pihidja	-				Aai	125	Piluas			×	-	
100	Maanik		×				126	Manihi					
20							26						
101	Mabala	×					127	Matara	×				?
102	Pidjua	-					128	Makai		×			
103	Pisaja		-				129	Makodja		×			

INDEX OF PROPER NAMES

(Ma-: men's names; Pi-: women's names)

Maanik, 100	Mamadja, 61	Pibaruñ, 26	Pinugun, 71, 92
Mabaha, 122	Mametañ, 32	Pidjai, 28	Pioruk, 110
Mabala, 101	Mametju, 73	Pidjele, 52	Pipahe, 86
Madjeke, 93 116	Mamonuk, 111	Pidjua, 102	Pipisa, 88
Madjola, 58	Mamoso, 18	Pigalir, 55	Pipugin, 35, 117
Maharek, 87	Mamuho, 85	Pihau, 104	Pipui, 31, 44, 108
Maia, 63	Managa, 5	Pihidja, 46, 99, 120	Piradja, 22, 66
Maiko, 76	Mananis, 96	Pikasa, 38	Pireko, 118
Makai, 16, 37, 128	Manihi, 126	Pikena, 39, 40	Piroik, 115
Makara, 79	Mapa, 7	Pikles, 106	Piru, 124
Makoba, 50	Mapaju, 51	Pikoe, 17	Pirunuk, 3
Makodja, 129	Mapenu, 23, 45	Pikloin, 74	Pisahuk, 114
Makoko, 54	Mapiku, 25	Pikoko, 2, 59	Pisaja, 20, 103, 119
Malaga, 36, 41	Mari, 113	Pilalu, 98	Pisalan, 82, 90
Malagur, 10	Marupi, 65	Pilaun, 60	Pisawi, 64
Malai, 21, 29, 83, 105, 107	Masanak, 30, 67, 53	Pilihuk, 77	Pisipi, 24, 56, 69
Malebu, 68, 75	Maserak, 57	Piloe, 11	Pisoma, 15, 70
Malekik, 42, 109	Maseron, 14	Pilogi, 123	Pitai, 95
Malele, 4	Matahar, 13, 72	Piluas, 49, 125	Pitapak, 121
Maleruk, 9, 27	Matara, 127	Pilurun, 33	Pitjau, 8
Malia, 1	Matjai, 43, 89	Pimau, 84	Pitjotjo, 62
Malogo, 48	Matje, 12	Pimelar, 47, 81	Pituar, 34
Maloi, 91	Matjari, 19	Pimoin, 78	
	Mauluk, 94	Pinai, 80, 97, 112	

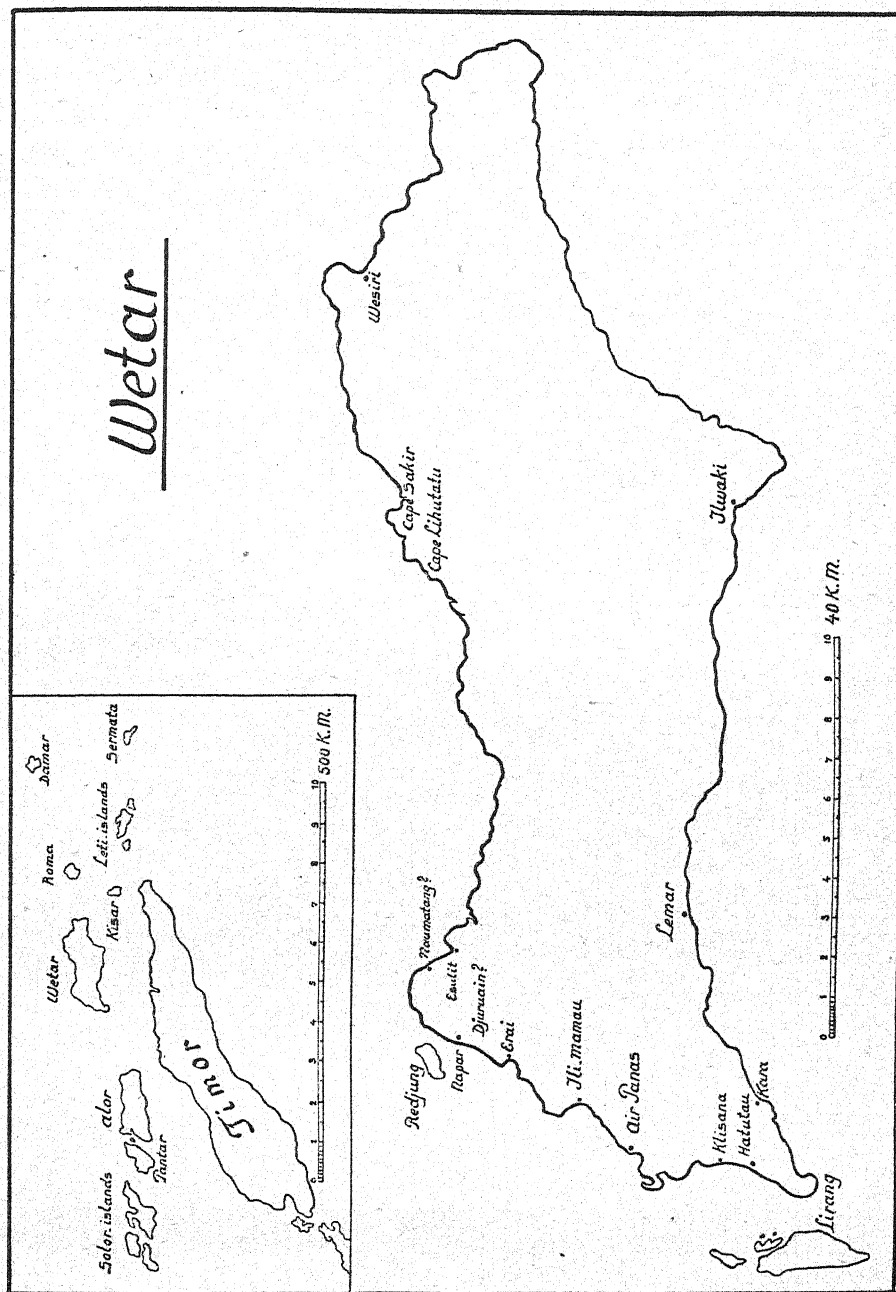
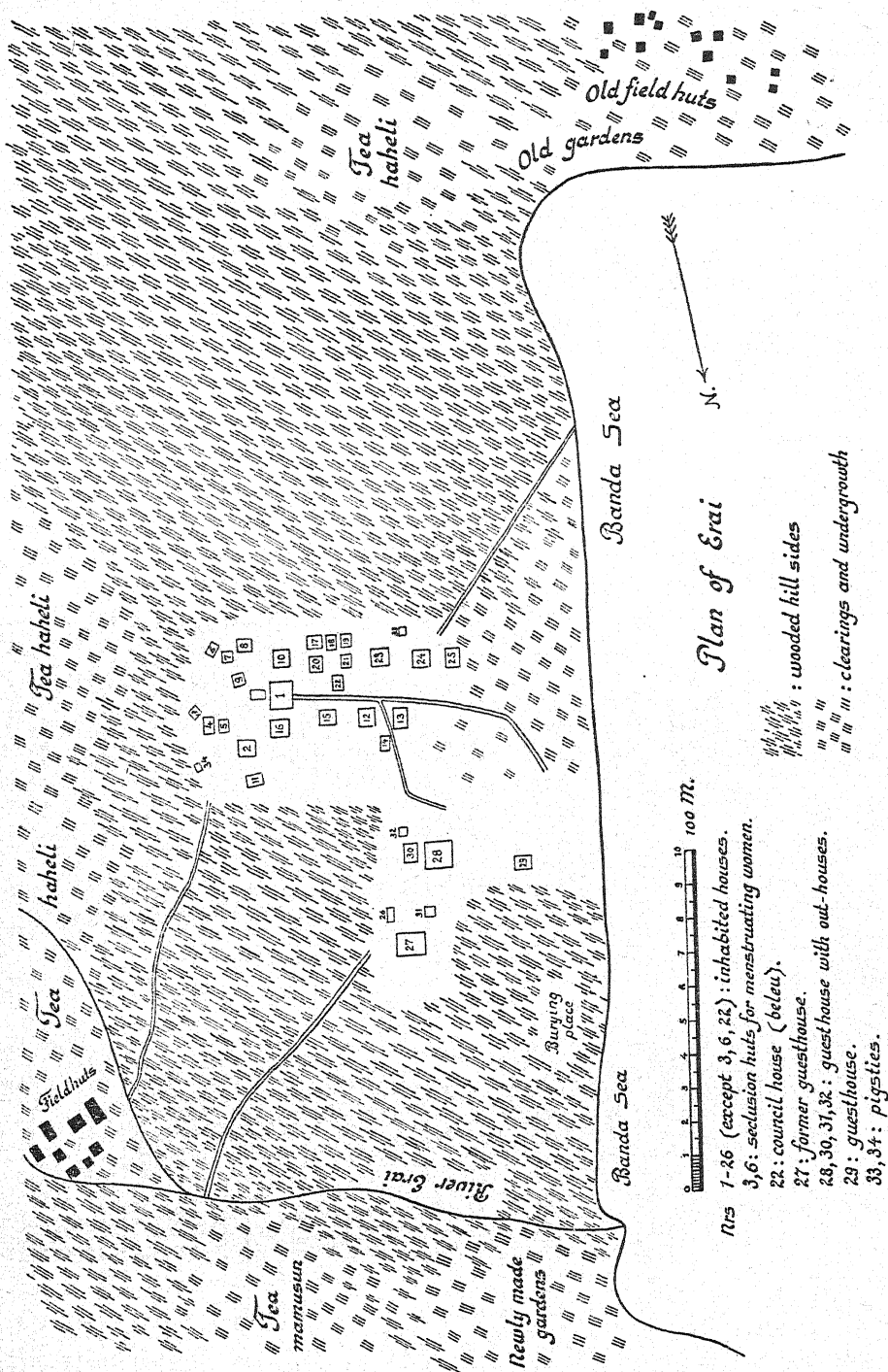


Fig. 1.



- Nrs 1-26 (except 3, 6, 22) : inhabited houses.
 3, 6 : seclusion huts for menstruating women.
 22 : council house (belau).
 27 : former guesthouse.
 28, 30, 31, 32 : guest house with out-houses.
 29 : guesthouse.
 33, 34 : pigsties.

Fig. 2.

III

TEXTS AND ENGLISH TRANSLATION

I

Laik Naga

Elder Naga

- 1 Laik Naga noro nialin tui ani. Laik
Naga woren ani la loiralan, nialin
enen tupi tau tjas loiralan, wēn tjas
rohimacha. Laik Naga hia lili go
5 la nialin heren. Nialin garak naru:
ani ge mega? Laik Naga naru: ani
ge wēn nohisoro mega, ani itrua
ene go tjama ge. Hira rua rohiga-
rak onigo. Laik Naga lari, hia
10 loiinan eha noro niriun noro anara-
lanhira, lari nai Madjar ma pali la
Esulit. Hiraturu pasi raha la Esulit.
Etji Laik Kaila to Esulit naru la
Laik Naga: osapasi otji raha lage
15 tjoihala ito atja ladjelage mama-
tērmi. Mila mega pasi raha la ēr
eha atja nigo, namo go to pu tamia.
Laik Naga liu onigo niohik halik
rahalukun, lea la loi, sopar ma
20 namo ge. Niratanage turu pasi raha
la ili ge. Pasi mega hirare loi. Etji
Laik Naga nahai hole namo la
leten. Nitōk toili eha noro hirala-
laik nean Laik Loko. Nitōkhirago
25 nitene ma la tjahi. Laik Loko tjo
Laik Naga ma la tjahi. Hirarohi ili
la tjahi ge. Hirarohi puhik ili Laik
Loko naru la Laik Naga: omala
tjahi, ao'ala djela tjoihala omuna-
30 tōk mala tjahi. Laik Naga naru la
Laik Loko: tjahi leten omeha tjo
hala olamegamage. Laik Loko naru:
onimanigo; panage ma ma, Laik-
naga nikaisarun mamuna turu la
35 panagehira, maheo namo Laik Loko

Elder Naga and his younger
brother were melting bee-wax.
Elder Naga put the wax he had
collected in the boat, added his
younger brother's wax to it in the
boat, and melted it all so that it
became one. Elder Naga took that
wax to his younger brother. His
younger brother became angry and
said: is that all the wax? Elder
Naga answered: this wax has been
melted and mixed up, it is just the
wax belonging to us both together.
That was the reason they quarrelled.
Elder Naga fled with his wife and
his family in a large boat, fleeing
from Madjar to Esulit, where he
anchored. They went ashore and
built a house at Esulit. But then
Elder Kaila, an Esulit man, said to
Elder Naga: do not build a house
here for there are people above here
who kill you. You had better go
and build a house near another
river which is there in a region
where there are no people. When
Elder Naga heard this, he pulled
the house-posts out again, loaded
them in the boat, and sailed to that
region. When he arrived there, he
went ashore and built a house in
this village-site. When they had
finished building, they dragged the
boat ashore. Then Elder Naga
climbed up to reconnoitre the

1 magoheo. Tjoihala nigo namo'upun.
 Hiratapa nigo puhik eha eha la ma
 nirahan.

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mountain region. He found an inhabited village and met with its chief called Elder Loko. When they met, he persuaded the latter to come down to the coast. Elder Loko followed Elder Naga to the coast. They founded a village on this coast. When they had built the village, Elder Loko said to Elder Naga: you take the coastal part, I take the mountain region, for you first found and took possession of the coast. Elder Naga said to Elder Loko: both the coast and the mountain region are yours alone, because you were staying here already. Elder Loko answered: so be it then; when guests arrive, Elder Naga will first welcome them with sirih and Elder Loko will be the one who calls up the spirits of the earth. For that reason he was called lord of the land. After making this arrangement both went home.

II

30 Klisana noro Tjuruain roHITE

Ito Lemar eha ninean Maleman suri
 ninaran Pihuan mahoa la Tjuruain
 noro Mahemandjak. Ralan eha
 Maleman ma toa ninaran Pihuan la
 35 Tjuruain. Ma la salan noro nirian
 Mahemandjak rohitehu. Maleman
 latji Mahemandjak mate. Maleman
 edja Mahemandjak ito eha ta
 nanau hala eha. Ata mate lama
 40 nigo. Maleman la ratan la raha
 ninaran Pihuan heren. Maleman
 ratan Pihuan heti: otatehu oria?
 Maleman naru: ta'rotehu; onima-
 nigo. Pihuan naru la Maleman:
 45 karapu nahu. Maleman naru: aoma-

The war between Klisana and
 Tjuruain

An inhabitant of Lemar named Maleman gave his sister Pihuan in marriage to Mahemandjak in Tjuruain. Once Maleman was going to visit his sister Pihuan. On his way he and his brother-in-law Mahemandjak met. Maleman slashed Mahemandjak to death. No living soul knew that Maleman had killed Mahemandjak. The corpse remained lying there. Maleman went on to his sister Pihuan's house. When Maleman arrived, Pihuan asked: didn't you meet your brother-in-law? Maleman answered: no meet-

1 halik mega. Pihuan naru: o'erak
 nahu, o'apu harua topu ēr atja orañ
 nige. Maleman naru: aota'erak
 mega. Maleman heti katji Pihuan
 5 naru: aoma'otjikatji ao'opi tjoihala
 naprohan; ao'otjilatji ata laik eha
 la tenan nige. Pihuan ne katji go la
 Maleman. Katji puhik niopin niha-
 lik mega leo eha go. Nihalik la
 10 tamo la hira Klisana. Niapu harua
 nanean Pertjeka noro Tjekalo hira-
 ratan la raha hira'ina tapa: mirua-
 lain ma lage halik hekega. Hira rua
 liu nigo rala opi tjo hiralain. Hira-
 15 ratanasalantenan otjo hira'ama
 palihoho mega otjo tjahiralain.
 Hira'uhuk tamon rarare. Hiratamon
 puhik hirala ili raru la hira'ina:
 amiama amitōk pe mate mega. Ami-
 20 tamon puhik natji amima. Hira-
 rua'ina liu nigo nikua mega naru la
 nianan harua: mi harua rohai otjo
 ito. Ito turun ratanatjahi naru: mit-
 joi mega Maleman aonara go.
 25 Pertjakan noro Tjakalo re hunurin
 la Klisana. Ratan Klisana hiraapu
 la hun, Panahuruanan hiraohite
 mega. Hirarehi asuain Lakutene
 Klisana noro ito aaru mate kra-
 30 pama asuain sa'. Maleman hira'edja
 noroma hira Klisana. Hira'edja
 puhik hirare halik ma la hira'ilin
 Tjuruain. Pertjaka noro Tjakalo
 raru la hira'ina: amiruaaman nipito
 35 noro kluni miama. Hira'ina liu nigo
 niralan hauⁿ halihega. Rohite go
 puhik lanigo.

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ing; that's all. Pihuan said to Male-
 man: let us sleep first. Maleman
 said: I am just going back. Pihuan
 said: have a little patience, your
 two nephews are bathing down
 here. Maleman answered: I am just
 not going to wait. Maleman asked
 Pihuan for a whetstone, saying:
 I want to sharpen my cutlass
 because it is in bad shape; I slash-
 ed some stranger on my way hither.
 Pihuan gave the whetstone to
 Maleman. After sharpening his cut-
 lass he went back that same day.
 He went back and entered the vil-
 lage of Klisana. His two nephews,
 called Pertjeka and Tjekalo, when
 they came home, were told by their
 mother: your uncle came here and
 went back again. When they heard
 that, they took their cutlasses and
 pursued their uncle. When they
 had come half-way, they saw their
 father floating, saw him in the sea.
 They took him and buried him on
 dry land. After burying him they
 went to the village and said to their
 mother: we found our father but he
 was already dead. When we had
 buried him, we came back. When
 their mother heard that, she wept
 and told her two sons: you two go
 up the mountain to look for people.
 When people had come down to
 the coast, she said: you people must
 pursue Maleman, my brother. Per-
 tjaka and Tjekalo led the warriors
 to Klisana. When they arrived at
 Klisana, they passed the night in
 the forest. Early in the morning
 they fought. They defeated the
 chief of Klisana, Lakutene, and the
 crowd of followers died besides
 that chief. They killed Maleman
 together with the Klisana people.

When they had finished killing, they returned to their village Tju-ruain. Pertjaka and Tjekalo said to their mother: our father's sleeping-mat and pillow are still here. When their mother heard that, her heart was at rest again. That was the end of that war.

III

1 Malai noro niina Pihori

Naimumuna amipaun la Nusan.
 Lalan eha Pihori noro niana Malai
 5 hia loi eha ma la Wetar soi ēr la
 namo eha nanean Biwai. Hira rua
 ratan la ēr go Pihori soi ēr hopan
 nianan Malai la pali loi la lor.
 Nipali puhik nikahalik oni ra niotjo
 10 hunu Tugun leu mega niinan Pi-
 hori. Niotjo nigo naru la niinan
 Pihori: otjo hunu nigo! Pihori naru
 la Malai: ola mega Nusan, aoge
 mamate mega! Omasō la maru la
 15 olainhira aomate mega! Pihori naru
 nigo hunu Tugun hia mega Pihori
 tasi kuratun la rare nilēn onidjela
 heta nai nilēn ratan nikuratun.
 Pihori mate totan here la hatu hatu
 20 noro ai ai. Malai otjo nigo ninasō
 halik oni Nusan. Malai ratan la
 Nusan naru la nilain noro hira'ili:
 ao'ina hunu Tugun edja mega la
 Biwai. On Malai age lik niinan
 25 nipeu hula harua. Nihauⁿ halik
 nasō la tjahi topu. Nitopu puhik
 ninōhi loi anan eha, ninohi puhik
 ninaru la loi go: aosopar oge omala
 ma halik laao, aomala haga ao'inan
 30 aomatōk; aosopar oge ola otahalik,
 aonanaun mega aotatōk ao'inan.
 Ninaru onigo nisurin loi go la
 tjahin. Loi go sopar la tatuan halik
 halik ma la ni. Ninaru halik la loi

Malai and his mother Pihori

In olden times our ancestress was living on the Island [Redjung]. Once Pihori and her son Malai crossed to Wetar to draw water in a region called Biwai. When they arrived at the river, Pihori drew water, ordering her son Malai to put the boat to anchor in the sea. When, after doing this, he looked back towards the land, he saw that Tugun enemies were surrounding his mother Pihori. When he saw that, he called to his mother Pihori: look at those enemies! Pihori said to Malai: you go back to the Island, I am going to die! When you are back, you tell your uncles that I have died. While Pihori was speaking thus, the Tugun enemies took hold of her, put her upside down and cleft her body from her buttocks down to her head. Pihori's body was chopped to pieces and strewed with stones and lumps of wood. When Malai saw this, he went back to the Island. On arriving at the Island Malai said to his uncles and their villagers: my mother has been killed by Tugun enemies in Biwai. As Malai could not forget his mother he was ill for two months. When he was well

1 go: aomasurin halik ralan eha ge,
 oma halik halik la ao, aonanaun
 mega aomala aomatōk ao'inan.
 Ninaru puhik nisurin halik loi go.
 5 Tatuani loi go halik halik ma la ni.
 Ninohik loi go ninahai oni ili. Nira-
 tan ili niheo mega nilainhira noro
 hira'aaru ma ramutu la niheren.
 Ninaru la hira: itala haga mega
 10 ao'inan. Onimanigo hirarohihere
 noro hirarohi nalu. Rohi nalu puhik
 hiragain hia ma loi hirasō la namon
 eha nanean Patas Er. Hira Tugun
 hirarohi ili la kruhun eha nanean
 15 Sale. Ili go sasim puhik. Tugun
 rohai oni ili go rohai rala hau'un
 eha etji hiraratan la hau go djela
 hiratasi esa rohai oni ili. Onimanigo
 Malai noro nitonhira rohai oni utur
 20 la ili Tugunhira. Hiraratan la
 kruhun go Malai nahai nala hau
 go. Ratan la hau'uhur niotjo esa
 tamia mega, niloi kakoras nipatik
 la la ai eha ninage la nitjakas la la
 25 namon go nitatu halik esa go. Ni-
 tatu puhik esa go ito hiratjakas oni
 ili go. Hiraratan puhik Malai heo
 la hira Tugun onige: Pihori anan
 nige mega, mima mega edjanil Hira
 30 Tugun liu nigo hirama mega rohite.
 Hirarohite ratan leo nutruhu.
 Malai noro nitonhira edja puhik
 hira Tugun, no ma to harua lari la
 topa la Tugun ili eha tjoi. Hira
 35 Tugun ili eha go ma mega la Malai
 noro niton. Hira Tugun raru la
 Malai: mirohi hala go? Malai naru:
 anahira kaha rakawari gai. Tugun-
 hira ma ratan la ili Malaihirago
 40 Tugunhira otjo ito mamate. Malai
 naru la hira: miauk nanakun go!
 Tugunhira liu nigo hiralari puhik
 oni hira'ilin. Onimanigo Malai noro
 nitonhira rasō oni tjahi. Hiraratan
 45 la tjahi hai loi rasō halik oni Nusan.

again, he went back to the sea to bathe. After bathing he made a small boat and then he said to that boat: if I set you adrift and you go and come back to me, I shall find my mother when I go to look for her; if I set you adrift and you do not come back to me, I shall know that I shall not find my mother. Thus he spoke and he set the boat adrift in the sea. The boat sailed away but soon came back to him. Again he said to the boat: I am going to set you adrift once more, if you come back to me again, I shall know that I shall find my mother when I go. After speaking he pushed off the boat again. After a little while the boat came back to him again. He took the boat and went up to the village. When he arrived at the village, he called together his uncles and their people for a meeting at his house. He told them: we are going to look for my mother. So they separated and prepared provisions. After preparing provisions they sailed away and landed at a place called Patas Er. The Tugun people had built a village on a rock called Sale. That village site was inaccessible. The Tugun people reached the village by first climbing a baru-tree and, after reaching the top of that tree, using a ladder that was put there. Under these circumstances Malai and his followers climbed up to the village of the Tugun people. When they reached the rock, Malai climbed that tree. When he reached the top of the tree, he saw that there was no ladder, so he took off his waistband, threw [one end of it] over a post [on the rock] and,

having reached the site by means of that band, put the ladder in its place again. After the ladder had been placed, his followers penetrated to the village. When they had arrived, Malai cried to the Tugun people: Pihori's son is here, you people come and kill him! When the Tugun people heard this, they came and there was a fight. They fought until the sun was at its highest point. Malai and his men killed all the Tugun people except two who ran away and brought the news to another Tugun village. The people of that Tugun village went to Malai and his men. The Tugun people said to Malai: what are you people doing? Malai answered them: it is just children who are making noise playing. When the Tugun people came in the village where Malai and his men were, they saw the corpses. Malai told them: you people take away these goods! When the Tugun people heard that, they all fled to their village. Now Malai and his men returned to the sea. When they arrived at the sea, they went aboard and returned to the Island.

- 1 Hilaratan la Nusan leo mohon
hiraotjo la Hatu Letji to aaru hia
loi ma mega la Nusan. Hilaratan la
Nusan Malai nasō soi tjahi nitōk
5 hira Tugun go. Malai heti: mima
onime? Amima lage karohite. Oni-
manigo Malai lohu hiraloi, erik
hiraēr, erik hiragañ la tjahiraran.
Tugunhira lukun lima kai puhik,
10 hiratarohi hala eha la Malai. Oni-
manigo Malai nahai oni ili, hira
Tugun lama tjahi ratan henen
halima. Malai noro nitonhira rasō
halik oni tjahi otjo Tugunhira mate

When they arrived at the Island towards evening they saw from Cape Hatu Letji many people in boats coming to the Island. When they had reached the Island, Malai went down to fetch sea-water and found those Tugun people. Malai asked: where are you people going? We have come here to make war. Then Malai smashed their boats, threw their water and their food in the sea. The feet and hands of the Tugun people were quite stiff, so they could not do anything against

1 klar puhik mega. Malai noro niton-
 hira otjo Tugun mate puhik mega
 hirahai oni ili. Ata mate Tugunhira
 go hon lama tjahi go. Malai noro
 5 nitonhira lama Nusan ratan ton
 halima. Malai noro hira lalaik noro
 niton la namon eha nanean Parupu
 la toar hira Tugun ili eha lama
 nigo. Hiraknanan la ma rahaun
 10 mega, Malai noro nitonhira hia
 hahata eha nean Pikopa. Hilaratan
 la Parupu, hiraramutu noro Tugun-
 hira rohirahaun lanigo. Malai ne
 Pikopa la hira Tugun, hira Tugun
 15 ne hahata eha nanean Pileki la
 Malai. Onimanigo Malaihira halik
 ma halik la Nusan. Malaihira la
 Nusan ton eha sirak Malai noro
 niananralanhira la ratoar Pikopa.
 20 Malai. Onimanigo Malaihira halik
 nirian Marupi ma tjo ni la Parupu.
 Marupi tjo Malai ratan la tenan
 namon eha nanean Sakir, ninoro-
 tehu mega nilok Malolik. Hira rua
 25 re loi. Re loi puhik hira ma mama
 otjo malu temnia. Nilok Malolik
 nahai haga hia noroma niopi. Malu
 sa' Malolik lahuk. Malolik hiasōma
 puli la nilok Marupi kuratun nilatji
 30 noromana nilok. Nilok Marupi
 mate niseka la hatu eha lama nigo.
 Onimanigo Pikopa liu ani ani
 Marupi Malolik edja mega.

Malai. After this Malai climbed
 back to the village, the Tugun
 people were left on the beach for
 five nights. When Malai and his
 men went down to the beach again,
 they found the Tugun people starv-
 ed to death. Seeing that the Tugun
 people were dead, Malai and his
 men climbed back to the village.
 The corpses of the Tugun people
 were left rotting on the beach.
 Malai and his people stayed on the
 Island for five years. Then Malai,
 accompanied by the elders and his
 men, went to a region called
 Parupu to visit another Tugun vil-
 lage there. They went with the
 purpose of making peace, so Malai
 and his men took along with them
 a woman named Pikopa. When
 they arrived in Parupu, they
 assembled with the Tugun people
 and made peace then and there.
 Malai gave Pikopa to the Tugun
 people, the Tugun people gave a
 woman named Pileki to Malai.
 After this Malai and his people
 went back again to the Island.
 After Malai and his people had
 been staying on the Island for one
 year, Malai and his family went
 to visit Pikopa. Malai and his
 people arrived at the village of
 Parupu, having arranged with his
 brother-in-law Marupi that the
 latter would follow him to Parupu.
 When Marupi, coming after Malai,
 had arrived half-way in a place
 called Sakir, he met with his friend
 Malolik. They dragged their boats
 ashore. After dragging the boats
 ashore they wanted to chew sirih
 but saw there was no sirih. His
 friend Malolik went inland to look
 for sirih, taking his cutlass along

- 1 Pikopa naru la Malai: omala samala ra; naima ili ge te la Hailua, naima Hailu te la Nusan. Malai ta tjoï Pikopa nanaru nigo. Ninaru la
- 5 hira ana ana: karalama rara, satjoi otjï Pikopa tatapa go. Malai noro anaralanhira ohik nai Parupu ralama rara. Ratan la Sakir Malai otjo nirian Marupi seka la hatu.
- 10 Malai naru: aorian nige mega pe mate mega. Ninaru: sua tan loi para la lo^r anan eha. Ratanalo^r hirapali loi. Malai nohik niopi, taha la nieta, nohik noro nitea, naloa nalama
- 15 tjahiralan nohai oni ra. Hiraotjo Malai nohai nalama tjahiralan hira leguran; to hain lari kaima ito halima lama nigo. To halima go ramutu lilin marotjituhu Marupi
- 20 sa'. Malai ratan la hira Malai heti: onhala miedja aorian lage? Hira-raru: on Malolik nianan kua nipaun rohirahuru: osakua, lok Marupi ma lea o oni Nusan. Onige
- 25 Malolik edja nilok Marupi. Malai liu nigo heo niananralan. Hirama ratan la ni hopan suni lilin go na puhik noroma to pu halima go. Puhik la nigo ninohai halik la niloin
- 30 nitau oni Nusan. Malai ratana Nusan hene harua hatelu ninohai halik noro nitonhira la Parupu onhala Malolik aedja Marupi lari mega la ili Parupu. Malai noro
- 35 nitonhira ratan la Parupu ninohai oni Pikopa heren heo hira aaru. Hira ili go ma, ninaru la hira: kati

with him. Malolik gathered that sirih. Malolik brought it back, threw it on his friend Marupi's head and slashed his friend. He laid his friend Marupi's corpse on a rock and left it there. After this Pikopa heard a rumour that Marupi had been killed by Malolik.

Pikopa said to Malai: when you go away, don't travel along the coast; take a short cut from this village to Hailua and cross from Hailu straight to the Island. Malai did not follow Pikopa's advice. He told his people: we shall travel along the coast, don't follow Pikopa's advice. Malai and his people left Parupu and followed the coast. When they arrived at Sakir, Malai saw his brother-in-law lying on a rock. Malai said: my brother-in-law is here indeed, but he is already dead. He said: take the boat a little farther out into the sea. After coming there they put the boat to anchor. Malai took his cutlass, put it in his loincloth, also took his spear and went to the shore, walking on the surface of the sea. When the people on land saw Malai walking on the surface of the sea, they were terrified; part of them ran away, only five of them were left. Those five men collected beewax to pay for the murder of Marupi. When Malai had reached them, he asked: why did you people kill my brother-in-law here? They answered: because Malolik's child cried, its grandparents jokingly said: don't cry, friend Marupi will take you away to the Island! For that reason Malolik killed his friend Marupi. When Malai heard that, he called his followers. When

1 sara Malai ē kaerak ma lage? Hira
 ili go hiratananaun rarorotapa go
 Malai. Onimanigo hirararu: kaerak
 ma lage tjoihala itaetaedja Marupi;
 5 nimama ne ma Malolik ge la ni.
 Onimanigo Malai nasō oni tjahi.
 Hene nohai halik oni Pikopa heren
 naru la Pikopa: aomahutu paputi
 ge la olima ma tandja. Namon sirak
 10 osaturu, olama rahatutun. Malai
 nohi onigo puhik nasō halik oni
 tjahi. Namon omputi Malai noro
 nitonhira rohai oni ili lero hira.
 Lata nigo niedja ma to hain, to
 15 hain lari. Malolik sa' to aaru hapa
 edja ma ni. Hirarohite puhik Malai
 lea Pikopa la niloin ninorohalik oni
 Nusan. Hira la Nusan ton eha
 Malai noro nitonhira lea halik
 20 Pikopa la halik ma Parupu. Hirara-
 tan Parupu hirarohihaun noro hahi
 noro asu noro Pikopa sepak noro
 nolalalanēr djuhik limarara la noēr
 go. Hira tema tema ramutu Malai
 25 gale naru: ao'oro Tugun leo eha ge
 karohi mega asuran, noma lalata
 sarohite rarú. To eha ma nohi,
 muna hahiraran asuraran haga ni
 mamate puhik; manu meha lin, hahi
 30 noro asu meha raloa. Malai tapa
 puhik hira tema tema hirarenu noēr
 wagu raran go puhik. Onimanigo
 Malai noro nitonhira halik ma la
 Nusan. Naima nigo ratan amige
 35 tananaun mega rohite.

they had come, he ordered them to
 burn that bee-wax and those five
 people together with it. When this
 had been done, he went back to his
 boat and sailed off to the Island.
 When Malai arrived on the Island,
 he stayed there for two, three days
 and then he and his men went back
 to Parupu because Malolik, who
 had killed Marupi, had fled to
 Parupu. After arriving at Parupu
 with his men Malai went to
 Pikopa's house and called the inha-
 bitants together. When the people
 came, he said to them: shall we go
 and meet Malai or shall we wait
 for him here? The villagers did not
 know that it was Malai to whom
 they were speaking. So they
 answered: we shall wait for him to
 come here because we have not
 killed Marupi; when he comes, we
 shall give him Malolik. Then Malai
 went back to the coast. At night he
 returned to Pikopa's house and
 said to Pikopa: I shall tie this piece
 of white cloth to your hand as a
 mark. Don't go out when it is light,
 stay indoors. After doing this
 Malai again went back to the coast.
 When it was light, Malai and his
 men went to the village and terri-
 fied the inhabitants. This time he
 killed half of them and the rest took
 to flight. Malolik was trampled to
 death by the men. When the fight
 was over, Malai put Pikopa in his
 boat and returned with her to the
 Island. When they had been on the
 Island one year, Malai and his men
 again put Pikopa in a boat and
 went back with her to Parupu.
 When they arrived at Parupu they
 made peace by means of a pig, a
 dog, that woman Pikopa, and the

water of a young coconut, mixing that coconut water with blood from their hands. When all the people were assembled, Malai rose and said: on this day I and Tugun pledge ourselves to lasting peace; don't ever fight each other again. If anybody should do that, the pig's blood and the dog's blood will get at him first and kill him and all his people; only birds will be heard, only pigs and dogs will be wandering about. When Malai had finished speaking, they all drank the coconut water mixed with the blood. After this Malai and his men went back to the Island. From that time up to the present day we have never been known to fight.

IV

Tjotja Raha Goliwai

Story of the House of Goliwai

1 Naimamuna Laik Seman noro
 nitonhira hiratur la ili Kara. Laik
 Seman nianan mamane eha nean
 Laik Matema. Hirala la Kara nia-
 5 man Laik Seman mate. Hiraohik
 halik nai Kara ma tur la Klisana.
 Hirala nigo Laik Matema noro
 niton eha nean Laik Haru nohi kar-
 kara noro hahata eha Klisana nean
 10 Piharu. Onigo ito Klisana garak,
 suni raha Klisana, erik hirareha, te
 hahi. Laik Matema otjo nigo nikua
 mega noro niton ohik halik nai
 Klisana ma la Napar. Hirala nigo
 15 ito lala Nusan otjo hira. Laik
 Matutu ma nai Nusan ma otjo Laik
 Matema noro nitonhira. Laik Ma-
 tutu ratan la hira Laik Matema heti
 la Laik Matutu namon Napar hira
 20 ma tur tjatjas. Onimanigo Laik
 Matutu nahok hirama tur tjatjas la
 ili Napar. Hiratapa puhik Laik

In olden times Elder Seman and his people were living in the village of Kara. Elder Seman had a son, named Elder Matema. While they were living at Kara, Elder Seman died. They left Kara and went to live at Klisana. While they were staying there one of Elder Matema's men, called Elder Haru, got into trouble about a Klisana woman, named Piharu. Therefore the Klisana people were angry, burnt the house in Klisana, threw away their rice, killed their pigs. When Elder Matema saw this, he wept, left Klisana with his people, and went to Napar. While they were staying there, they were seen by people living on the Island. Elder Matutu came from the Island to visit Elder Matema and his people. When Elder Matutu came to them, Elder

1 Matutu nasō halik oni Nusan.
 Niratana Nusan heo tjas hira ilira-
 lan ma la niheren ninaru: itage
 karohai oni ra. Hiratapa puhik
 5 hira'ukun nanakun rohai oni ra
 Napar. Laik Matutu ratan la Napar
 hiraramutu hene eha go. Laik
 Matema uku osa puhik ne la Laik
 Matutu rotjior on Napar. Osa nane
 10 na Laik Matutu lodjan harua, tau
 la lodjanralan harua go enurare
 noro laun penu. On Laik Matema
 nio^r mehama on Napar, onigo
 nidjaga mehama on Napar. Laik
 15 Matutu noro nitonhira hiraene nai
 Nusan ratan Laho knala noro hira
 Esulit la namon eha nanean Hahi-
 kilun. Amirohihere puhik onigo
 mega amitur la Napar notjiratanma
 20 ge.

25

30

35

Raha Matjar noro Solok

Naimamuna Laik Naga nohi saren
 40 la ito Solok. Ito Solok go rohai heti
 saren la Laik Naga. Hira Solok go
 heti saren, lilin tamia. Laik Naga
 go hira Solok lea ni la loi hia rasō
 oni Solok. Rasō ratan la Galigau
 45 ili eha nean Ilwaki. Ito Ilwaki otjo

Matema proposed that Elder Matutu should inhabit the territory of Napar together with them. Then Elder Matutu accepted the proposal that they should live together in the village of Napar. When they had made this arrangement, Elder Matutu returned to the Island. When he arrived on the Island, he summoned the people to his house and said: let us go to the land. When he had finished speaking, they collected their possessions and crossed to Napar. When Elder Matutu arrived at Napar, there was a meeting that very night. After Elder Matema had collected goods, he gave them to Elder Matutu to pay for the harbour of Napar. The goods which were given to Elder Matutu consisted of two large dishes filled with ancient beads and valuables of gold. As Elder Matema had only bought the harbour of Napar, so he only ruled over the harbour of Napar. Elder Matutu and his people owned the territory from the Island as far as Laho, bordering on Esulit in a place called Hahikilun. After having thus divided the country, we have been living at Napar up to the present day.

V

The House of Matjar and the Solor people

In olden times Elder Naga ran into debt with Solor people. Those Solor people came to ask payment from Elder Naga. When the Solor people asked payment, there happened to be no bee-wax. The Solor people put Elder Naga in their

- 1 Laik Naga hiraheti Laik Naga go
nai hira Solok: lea ito ge onhala?
Hira Soloko raru: amilea to ge tjoi
nitapais amisaren. Hira Ilwaki go
5 heti la hira Solok: omamui, turun
mega ito ge la ami. Hira Solok raru:
amimui pe omapais amisaren. Hira
Ilwaki raru: amipais misaren go.
Tapa puhik onigo hira Ilwaki pais
10 Laik Naga saren la hira Soloko tau
laun kusi hatelu ne la hira Soloko.
Hirapais puhik Laik Naga turun
mega la hira Ilwaki. Hira Solok
rasō mega la hira'ilin. To Ilwaki go
15 lea halik Laik Naga go la loi rohai
halik ma lage. Hiraratan la ili ge
hirusin Laik Naga go noro hira-
raru: ito ge harienen? Hira ili ge
raru: ito ge amienen. Onigo hira
20 Ilwaki go raru la hirage: laik ge
ma tjatjan nahu ami oni djulu ge,
amila rohite nahu. Onigo hira
Ilwaki go roro Laik Naga oni djulu.
Hiraratan la Perai ili eha hiraturun
25 rohite noro ito Perai ili eha go. Hira
Ilwaki rehi hira Perai, edja puhik
hira Perai ili eha go. Hiraedja
puhik hirama halik la ili ge. Hira-
ratan la ili ge, hira ili ge tui lilin
30 kuali eha ne la ito Ilwaki go rotji-
turun halik Laik Naga. Etji hira
Ilwaki go palas halik lilin go tau
talo aair eha la to ili ge. Palas
puhik mega Laik Naga go turun
35 mega lage. Ito eha Ilwaki nanean
Kainsaku naru la ito ili ge onige:
ili Erai go noro Ilwaki Galigau
karohirohi mega alin. Amima rasō
halik. Onima amimama lage miili
40 ge hia lilin noro reha'ihin noro
manu marotjiwase amilo. Ami Erai
noro Iliwaki to Galigau go tapa
puhik onigo mega ami tatema tjaka
oni pairkeha lutu hatu. Puhik oso
45 Galigau hira go limakrakon noro

boat and took him to Solor. They arrived at a village on Alor, named Ilwaki. When the Ilwaki people saw Elder Naga, they asked the Solor people about Elder Naga: why are you taking this man along with you? The Solor people answered: we are taking him because he does not pay his debt to us. The Ilwaki people requested the Solor people: if you are willing, give this man to us. The Solor people answered: we are willing, but you must pay our claim. The Ilwaki people said: we pay that claim of yours. After speaking thus Ilwaki paid Elder Naga's debt to the Solor people with three large jars of golden valuables. When they had paid, Elder Naga was given to the Ilwaki people. The Solor people returned to their village. The Ilwaki people put Elder Naga in a boat and took him hither. When they arrived at this village, they showed Elder Naga and said: to whom does this person belong? The people of the village answered: this person belongs to us. Then the Ilwaki people said to them: this elder must first accompany us eastward, we are going to fight first. So the Ilwaki people went eastward with Elder Naga. When they arrived at a certain Perai village, they went ashore and fought with the people of that Perai village. The Ilwaki people defeated the people of Perai, they killed all the inhabitants of that Perai village. When they had finished killing they went back to this village. When they arrived at this village, the inhabitants of this village melted a panful of bee-wax and gave it to the

- 1 ami Erai enen tau la takuruk ami
 Erai noro Galigau hira renu. Renu
 puhik Laik Naga naru la hira Galigau
 onige: mirohai onige misaga-
 5 rak la ami, ami ili ge sagarak la mi
 tjaun la anahira sarohigarak tjoi-
 hala itarohi mega roro alin. Noro
 ami Erai noro Galigau rohiton
 onige: Galigau hira ton: oni mi Erai
 10 maotjo meti la sapanralan, mirohik;
 oni mimaotjo la loiinan, misarohik;
 ami Erai raru: oni mimaotjo krai
 noro reha la tearalan, mirohik; oni
 seka mega la raha, misarohik; noro
 15 mimama lage, misapau amiriun;
 amirasō lago, amisapau miriun.
 Hiraraton puhik onigo hira Ilwaki
 Galigau rasō halik oni Galigau.
 Ratan ma ge ami Erai noro Galigau
 20 ili eha Ilwaki rohi roro alin tjoihala
 amipaun rohiton mega.

Ilwaki people in order to get back Elder Naga. Then the Ilwaki people in return for that bee-wax presented the inhabitants of this village with a large gong. After this exchange of gifts Elder Naga was set free here. A certain Ilwaki man, named Kainsaku, addressed the people of this village with these words: the villages of Erai and of Ilwaki of Alor, we are going to contract an alliance of brotherhood. We are going back home. Whenever we shall come here, your village will bring bee-wax and peeled rice to clean our boat. When we Erai people and the Ilwaki people of Alor had spoken thus, we all crossed the river and made a pile of stones. After that the Alorese and we Erai cut our fingers, catching the blood in a coconut shell, and then we Erai and the Alorese drank that blood. After drinking Elder Naga addressed the Alorese thus: when you come here you should not be angry with us, we of this village should not be angry with you, even our descendants should not be hostile to each other, for we have become blood-brothers. We Erai people contracted the following alliance with the Alorese: the Alorese made this arrangement: when you Erai people see fish in a small canoe, just take it; when you see it in a large boat, don't take it; we Erai people said: when you people see maize or rice in a garden, just take it; when it is stored in a house, don't take it; and when you come here, don't molest our wives; when we go there, we shall not be allowed to molest your wives. When this alliance had been

made, the Ilwaki people of Alor went back to Alor. Up to the present time we Erai and the village of Ilwaki on Alor have maintained our brotherhood because our ancestors contracted that alliance.

VI

Laik Legur noro Laik Uhun roro
Tugun rohite

Elder Legur and Elder Uhun fight
the Tugun people

- 1 Naimomuna hira Tugun ma la
Esulit ma rohite pe hira Esulit
leguren lari rasō oni Nusan. Hira
Tugun ta tomo hira Esulit ma halik
- 5 la Napar ma roro hira Napar ma
rohite. Hira Napar otjo hira Tugun
go aaru tananau hiralari oni Nusan.
Hira Tugun otjo hira Napar lari
oni Nusan hirasari ma lage Erai.
- 10 Ma ratan lage to Erai lari oni
Nusan. Hira Tugun otjo to Erai
lari mega la Nusan hiraerak ma la
tetea. Ami Erai lama Nusan para
tatan gan puhik mega ma mate
- 15 klār mega hira lalaik raru: hari ma
gatun hahek hira rohai oni ra ma
haga kaila? Hira nahahulak go ta
mui mōr ma Laik Legur noro Laik
Uhun to harua ge roro rian hira
- 20 rua gatun hahek hira ma la Belu
haga kaila la tea. Hilaratan la tea
Laik Legur noro Laik Uhun raru la
hira hahek go: mimaotjo ito mima-
rohih miana lari rasō oni loi. Hira
- 25 rua raru onigo la hahek hira mega,
hira hahek la mega rohih kaila.
Hira hahek go oni tearalan hiraro-
hiron: oni ito eha maotjo hunu naru
onige: ita tema tema kati mega
- 30 hopu ana kua mega. Onimanigo
hahek hira la rohih kaila sa'. Hira-
rohirohih kaila go hahek eha otjo
mega hira Tugun go mega ninaru

Very long ago the Tugun people went to Esulit to make war, but the people of Esulit were afraid and fled to the Island. Having missed the Esulit people, the Tugun then went to Napar in order to fight the people of Napar. When the Napar people saw that the Tugun people were exceedingly numerous, they fled to the Island. The Tugun people, seeing that the Napar people fled to the Island, landed here at Erai. When they arrived here, the Erai people fled to the Island. The Tugun people, seeing that the Erai people had fled to the Island, awaited them in the gardens. When we Erai people had been on the Island for a while and the food had gone so that we were starving, the elders said: who is willing to escort the old women to the land to collect beans? Nobody was willing to go except only Elder Legur and Elder Uhun, two brothers-in-law, who escorted the old women to the territory of Belu to look for beans in the gardens. When they arrived at the gardens, Elder Legur and Elder Uhun said to those old women: when you see anybody, you must pick up your children and run away to the boat. When they

1 onima hirarohiton go mega hiralari
 mega ma la Laik Legur noro Laik
 Uhun hiraheren, rohik hiraana rasō
 oni tjahi hai loi mega. Tugun hira
 5 ma lero mega Laik Legur noro Laik
 Uhun hirarohite rehi Tugun puhik
 noma to lolon halima lari. Laik
 Legur noro Laik Uhun teri to haak
 kuratun lea la loi roro hira hahek
 10 go rasō oni Nusan. Hiraratan la
 Nusan hirate henen halima la no
 kuratun go la tutun. Onigo puhik
 ito Esulit to Napar noro Erai eha
 eha rohai la hira'ilin mega.

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had said this to the old women, the
 old women went to gather beans.
 While the old women were going
 into the gardens, they made this
 agreement: when either of us sees
 an enemy, she will cry out: let us
 all go away to feed the children,
 who are crying! Then the old
 women set to gathering beans.
 While they were gathering those
 beans, one of the old women saw
 the Tugun people, so she gave the
 agreed warning and they ran away
 to Elder Legur and Elder Uhun,
 picked up their children, descended
 to the beach and went aboard.
 When the Tugun people came to
 terrify them, Elder Legur and Elder
 Uhun attacked and defeated them
 so that only five of them were left,
 who ran away. Elder Legur and
 Elder Uhun cut off four heads,
 loaded them in the boat, and
 returned to the Island with the old
 women. When they arrived at the
 Island, they feasted for five nights
 and then left the heads on the cape.
 After this the inhabitants of Esulit,
 Napar, and Erai went back, each
 to his own village.

VII

Raha Djorai

The House of Djorai

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Naimamuna amipaun eha nean
 Kaila noro nitonhira tur la Nau-
 matañ ulu. Onigo Aran Wesiri
 nanean Tapinu noro nitonhira ma
 40 nain Wesiri maotjo Laik Kaila noro
 nitonhira. Ma ratan la amipaunhira
 marohihaun mega namon. Aran
 Wesiri tur lanigo teri mega namo-
 nito sa ma rarú rohite. Onigo Aran
 45 Wesiri noro nitonhira djaga mega

Long long ago one of our ancestors,
 named Kaila, was living in the
 mountains of Naumatang with his
 people. Then the Marna of Wesiri,
 named Tapinu, left Wesiri with his
 followers and came to visit Elder
 Kaila and his people. When they
 came to our ancestors, they want-
 ed to improve the condition of the
 country. Marna Wesiri stayed

- 1 hunu nanaidjulu noro dje la tjahi
Naumatañ. Amipaun Kaila noro
nitonhira ohik halik nai Djorai ma
la oni Esulit pasi ili lanigo. Pasi
5 raha puhik Laik Kaila hopan ito la
heo la Esulit ulu Laik Djeke noro
Laik Paga noro hira rua hiton la
lete. Laik Djeke noro Laik Paga liu
Laik Kaila heo hira ma tur tjatjas
10 la tjahi mega Laik Djeke noro Laik
Paga noro itonitohira ma roro
tjasma to haheo go ma la tjahi
Esulit. Laik Djeke noro Laik Paga
ratan la Laik Kaila, Laik Kaila naru
15 la hira rua: aoheo mi rua ma ita
hatelu katur tjat la ili ge. — Laik
Magomi noro nitonhira hiratur la
Sorai. Amipaun Laik Kaila noro
Laik Paga noro Laik Djeke tur la
20 Esulit. Onigo hunu to Tugun ma
la Sorai roro Laik Gomi noro niton-
hira rohite. Leo eha go mamane
hira Sorai la puhik haga hahi la
lete. Hunu Tugun hiraedja puhik
25 hahate noro ana meramera puhik
isiisin. Laik Gomi la djök kakrota-
huhun hunu go ta sere edja ni. Hira
Tugun go edja puhik hahata noro
ana meras mega hirahalik la hira'ili.
30 Hira Tugun go raloa ta so nahu
ana Sorai eha naneean Tali niso nai
rahadjela tupu la orañ. Hira Tugun
go liu rare tulen hirahalik maotjo
ana go mega hutu noroma ana go
35 hia mori oni hira'ilin. Hilaratan ma
hira'ilin hutu Tali la ai eha la tolan,
geloñ titi noro talo hirate leu ana
go.

there in order to prevent the inhabitants from fighting any more. So the Marna of Wesiri and his men were on their guard for enemies from the East and from the West on the coast of Naumatang. Our ancestor Kaila with his people migrated from Djorai to Esulit, where he founded a village. After building a house Elder Kaila sent messengers to the mountain region of Esulit to invite Elder Djeke and Elder Paga with their people in the mountains. When Elder Djeke and Elder Paga heard that Elder Kaila invited them to stay together with him on the coast, Elder Djeke and Elder Paga and their people accompanied the messengers to the coast of Esulit. When Elder Djeke and Elder Paga had come to Elder Kaila, Elder Kaila said to them: I have invited you with the intention that we three shall live together in this village. — [At the time] Elder Magomi and his people were living in Sorai. Our ancestor Elder Kaila and Elder Paga and Elder Djeke were living in Esulit. Then it happened that hostile Tugun people came to Sorai for the purpose of fighting Elder Gomi and his people. That very day all the men of Sorai had left to look for pigs in the mountains. The Tugun enemies killed all the women and small children. Elder Gomi hid himself under a refuse-heap and the enemies did not find and kill him. After the Tugun people had killed the women and little children, they went back to their village. The Tugun people had not yet gone far when one small child, named Tali, jumped down from the roof of a

- 1 Ito Sorai mamane mamane hira
nai djela hahaga hahi go ratan ma
ili hiraotjo hahata noro ana meras
mate puhik mega. Laik Gomi nihuk
5 ma nipeha mega naru la mamane
hira go naru: hira Tugun ma edja
puhik mega hahata noro ana meras,
miotjo hiramate puhik. Onimanigo
Laik Gomi noro niton mamane
10 mamane hira mega la Esulit raru
la Laik Kaila noro Laik Djeke noro
Laik Paga: amihahatahata noro ana
meras hira hunu Tugun edja puhik.
Amima lage katur tjatjas mega
15 lage, amiheti Lalaik mi tema tema
mimarohitulun ami; itakahaga ami-
riun noro amianahira. Laik Gomi
naru onigo la Laik Kaila noro Laik
Djeke noro Laik Paga mega Lalaik
20 hatelu go heo ramutu mamanema-
nehira raru: ita ka oro Laik Gomi
nitonhira ka oni djulu. Tapa nigo
puhik hirarohihere rohi nalun.
Puhik ramutu tau oni djulu. Ami-
25 paunhira roro hira'iton ratan namon
eha nean Wetuk. Hira Tugun go
hirarohi ili lanigo. Amipaunhira
ratan la namon go henen mega.
Hiraliu la ili go ito Tugun masun
30 ma tate. Tugunhira ilin go lama
utur eha nanean Perputi. Ami-
paunhira rapu la tjahi henen eha
go. Panahuru amipaunhira rohai
oni ili Tugunhira. Amipaunhira
35 ratan ilihun ma rohai oni djela,

house. When the Tugun people heard the thud on the ground, they went back and saw the child and then they tied the child and took it alive to their village. When they arrived at their village, they tied Tali to a stake in the centre of the village, hang up drums and gongs, and danced and sang round the child.

When the men of Sorai, coming back from the mountains where they had been looking for pigs, arrived at the village, they saw that the women and the small children were dead all of them. Elder Gomi left his hiding-place, raging, and said to the men: the Tugun people came and killed all the women and children, you see that they are dead. Then Elder Gomi and his men went to Esulit and said to Elder Kaila, Elder Djeke, and Elder Paga: our women and small children have been killed by the Tugun enemies. We have come here to live here together with you, we request you all, Elders, to help us; let us go together to look for our wives and our children. When Elder Gomi spoke thus to Elder Kaila and Elder Djeke and Elder Paga, the three Elders called together their men and told them: let us go with Elder Gomi and his men to the East. Having arranged this they separated to prepare provisions. After this they assembled and set out eastward. Our ancestors and their followers arrived at a place, called Wetuk. The Tugun people had built a village there. When our ancestors arrived at that place, it was already night. They heard the Tugun people feasting

- 1 salan tamia. Hira ito hatelu esuain
 nanean Makerek noro Malegur
 noro Masaha hira hatelu ge rohai
 rala hau eha. Ratan la hau go
 5 nilega, hau go ta ratan la kruhun
 go. Mega asuain hatelu go loi hira-
 kakoras rotjirasik la ili go hira
 hatelu go rohai rala kakoras go.
 Hira esuain hatelu go rohai ratan
 10 la ili go hira Tugun go te hira
 hatelu go notji te puhik. Ta nene
 hira hatelu. Hiraohik tjigin rotjite
 hira hatelu go. Tjigin puhik ohik
 aiklutunklutun te hira hatelu, ta
 15 nene. Aiklutun puhik hirate tau ana
 meras. Puhik esuain hatelu go
 rasō mega oni tjahi heo ito aaru ma
 la ili edja hira ili Tugun go. Onigo
 ito hirarohai noro Aturun harua
 20 nanean Kasura noro Sawareti.
 Hirarohai ratan la ili Tugun go hira
 Tugun go to hain tama la djapu,
 hira hain gelon djök laleten, ito
 hain rotji lupur gelon djök. Onigo
 25 amipaunhira edja hira Tugun la ili
 go. Puhik raloa lai lai haga ito
 madjadjök hira. Amipaun raloa
 otjo ito gagelon la djapu noro lupu,
 hirateta rasō oni orañ, hiraratan la
 30 orañ mate puhik. Ito harua nanean
 Safreti noro Kasura rohai loi ana
 hahutu go nanean Tali go hia halik.
 Hiraedja puhik to Tugun noro
 hirarohik Tali go mega hirahalik
 35 ma la Esulit. Hiraratan la Esulit
 Lalaikhira Esulit ne osa la Aturun
 harua go. Osa hiranane enurare
 harua nohi air harua la Aturun
 harua Safreti noro Kasura. Mega
 40 hira rua rasō oni Aturun. Mega
 Laik Gomi noro nitonhira rohi
 mega ili noro raha tjatjas la ili
 Esulit noro Laik Kaila noro Laik
 Djeke noro Laik Paga. Hira Lalaik
 45 hatelu go ramutu la Esulit, naima-

continually in that village. The vil-
 lage of the Tugun people was
 situated on a rock, called Perputi.
 Our ancestors slept on the coast
 that night. Early in the morning
 they ascended to the village of the
 Tugun people. When our ancestors
 arrived underneath the village and
 wanted to climb up, there was no
 path. Three war-chiefs, named
 Makerek and Malegur and Masaha
 climbed an hibiscus-tree. When
 they reached the top of that tree,
 the tree was found not to reach up
 to the top of the rock. Then the
 three chiefs took off their waist-
 bands, threw them up to the vil-
 lage and then climbed up by means
 of those waist-bands. When the
 three chiefs had climbed up to the
 village, the Tugun people threw
 spears at them until all the spears
 were gone. The three men had not
 been hit. They took fire-stones to
 throw at the three men. When the
 fire-stones were gone, they took
 lumps of wood and threw them at
 the three men, but without hitting
 them. When the lumps of wood
 were gone, they threw with small
 children. When none were left, the
 three war-chiefs went back to the
 coast and summoned their army to
 come to the Tugun village and kill
 the inhabitants. So the men climbed
 up and among them were two in-
 habitants of the island of Kambing,
 named Kasura and Sawareti. When
 they had climbed up to the Tugun
 village, the Tugun people partly
 hid themselves in baskets, partly
 tried to escape discovery hanging
 on the mountain slopes, partly hid
 hanging in pieces of bark-cloth.
 Then our ancestors killed the

1 muna ratan ami ge tananau rohi-
here.

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Tugun people in that village. After that they roamed about, looking for those who had hid themselves. When our ancestors discovered people who were hanging in baskets or bark-cloth, they cut them loose so that they fell down and were dead when they reached the ground. The two men named Safreti and Kasura climbed up and freed the child called Tali that had been tied, and carried it back. After killing the Tugun people they took up Tali and returned to Esulit. When they arrived at Esulit, the Elders of Esulit presented the two Kambing men with property. The property given consisted of two ancient beads and two pieces of home-made cloth. Then the two men returned to Kambing. Now Elder Gomi and his people founded a village and built houses as a part of the village of Esulit together with Elder Kaila and Elder Djeke and Elder Paga. Those three elders assembled in Esulit and from those olden times up to our days no separation has been known.

VIII

Tjotja rahaluku eha

The story of a house-post

35 Naimamuna amipaun eha nean
Laik Niki nilahoa hahata eha la
Lemar. Laik Niki noro niriun hira-
mama la Djuruain. Hahata go nina-
ran mamane ne rahaluku eha hia
40 ma la Djuruain. Hahata go hia
nala aimuri go rahaluku eha.
Ninara go no eha aimuna nenean
Rahaana la Lemar. Laik Niki noro
niriun ohik nai Lemar hia noro
45 rahaluku eha. Rahaluku eha ge

In olden times one of our ancestors, named Elder Niki, went and married a woman at Lemar. Elder Niki and his wife wanted to go to Djuruain. That woman's brother gave her one of the house-posts to take along with her to Djuruain. The woman took the youngest house-post. Her brother kept the eldest, named Rahaana, at Lemar. Elder Niki and his wife left Lemar

- 1 niupun nean To(n)ala noro Lewala.
 Hirama ratan la ili Djuruain hira-
 rohi rahaluku eha go nipitin nai
 paputi hele la rahatutun go. Raha-
 5 luku eha ge notji la amiihi ma
 hahau, gañ ma mamia, ma haga
 hahi hui ta sūsa. Oni hala hala ge
 ni ta mia ami heti la rahaluku eha.
 Onigo ton haruarua amitjetje raha-
 10 luku eha ge tjetje onige: hahi puti
 eha tora hahi metan eha noro gañ
 paputi. Paru hahi go tui gañ hoki
 la krau natjama to iliralan, solan la
 rahaluku eha go noroma hahi pa-
 15 paru noroma pua ha'itu malu ha'itu
 noro kur lolon ha'itu. Tau la krau
 eha sasolan puhik namo(n) upun
 heo onige: Lewala noro Tonala turu
 ma mara gañ noro hahi ge, mama
 20 pua noro malu noro moak kur ge.
 Amimarotjiheti reha noro krai noro
 amiihin hahaun. Lewala noro To-
 nala hirara puhik, heo mega ma-
 mane iliralan mara hahi noro gañ
 25 sasolan go. Puhik hiramama pua
 noro malu; noro kur go lea nahu,
 ma raro hi tea netji moak kur go.
 Malu noro pua nimaguna la ito
 raloa mate hahi. Gañ go guna la
 30 Tonala noro Lewala marara. Ra
 puhik rohihere mega gañ noro hahi
 go hahata tanau rara. Tjetje raha-
 luku ge naima hira mamuna ratan
 la ami ge tanau mano. Amimano go
 35 nimanohi peu ami.

taking along one of the house-posts. The spirits of this house-post were named Tonala and Lewala. When they arrived at the village Djuruain, they made that house-post's mat of white cloth and spread it out in the house. This house-post makes that our bodies are healthy, that there will be food, that it will not be difficult to get wild boars. So when any of these things are lacking, we ask the house-post for it. Every other year, therefore, we provide for the house-post in this way: one white pig or else one black pig and white rice. The pig is roasted, the rice is cooked, put on plates according to the number of men in the village, and set out near the house-post together with the roasted pig, seven portions of pinang and sirih, and seven cigarettes. After putting [a little of] what has been prepared on a plate the village-chief makes this address: Lewala and Tonala, come down to eat this rice and this pig, chew pinang and sirih, and smoke these cigarettes. We want to ask for rice and maize and that our bodies may be healthy. When Lewala and Tonala have finished eating, the men of the village are invited to come and eat the pork and the rice that have been set out. After this they chew pinang and sirih; but, for the time being, put away the cigarettes, which they smoke when they are going to work in the gardens. The sirih and pinang will be helpful to men who are hunting pigs. The rice serves to make Tonala and Lewala come and eat. After eating people separate, but the women never eat that rice and pork. This custom of feed-

ing the house-post has never been neglected from the olden times up to the present day. If we should neglect it, that would make us ill.

IX

Kuru gelon

- 1 Nai amipaunhira hirarohi tea la
tutun Pua. Tea go gañ pari tanau;
reha reha. penu la kapen kapen
puhik ka'uk la knohi. Onigo ami-
5 paun eha niana kua haga ma nima-
nana ani'we. Amipaun go het
ani'we la iliralan go pe ta tōk.
Mega nihopan niapun noro niana
ma la oso ani la tutun hohon tapu
10 la djagai. Mega hira rua ma la oso
ani go. Ta ratan la ani go hira rua
rohihopan mega hari ma oso ani go.
Hira rua rohisoru onigo anamane
rehi anahata mega anahata go la
15 oso ani go. Niratan la ani go nioso
mega ani go mega anamane go heo
anahata go. Mega anahata go naru:
aomati pe aolukun kai mega noro
aolima kai mega. Aomati rarū
20 onime! Onigo anamane naru rian:
olaik oni tjahi. Mega anahata go
laik pe nilukun go kai la djela.
Mega ninaru la anamane: rian, ao
ta oro mega o. Noro tapa la nirian
25 anamane: ola tapa la itaama ao ta
oro mega mi; oni mimarohite, maro-
hik aokururōn go mirotjiroHITE.
Mege anahata go lama nigo pari
noro ma hatu notji ratan ge.

The hanging head

In the times of our ancestors people made a garden on cape Pua. That garden yielded plenty of food; when all the baskets had been filled with rice, the rest had to be sewn in cloth. At the time some ancestor's child wept, wanting to eat honey. Our ancestor asked the people of the village for honey but he did not get it. So he sent his sister's son and his own son to cut out a bee-nest in a waringin on the cape. The two of them went to cut out that nest. Before they arrived there they were arguing about who should cut out the nest. They were ordering each other until the brother's son overcame the sister's son and so the sister's son went cutting out the nest. When he reached the nest, he cut it out and then the brother's son called the sister's son. Then the sister's son answered: I would come, but my feet and my hands are stuck fast. How am I to get off again! Then the brother's son said to the sister's son: jump down into the sea! Then the sister's son jumped, but his feet stuck fast above. Then he told the brother's son: brother-in-law, I shall not be with you any more. Again he told his brother-in-law, his mother brother's son: you go and tell our father that I shall not

be with you people any more; when you people are going to fight, then take my hair to fight with. Then the sister's son was changed into stone and has been there up to the present.

X

Karapais noro niriun Pireri

- 1 Laik Karapais go naplihu nai lua-
gurañ noro niriun Pireri. Hiarohi
hirawati la liañ eha noroma niton-
hira. Hiralama liañ go hiraotjo
5 hunu ili eha ma. Mega niriun naru
Karapais: ita ge kamate. Mega
Karapais nipigar mega malalatji
hunu. Mega nimunalatji nahu
niriun noro nitonhira. Mega niohik
10 nilaloa mega hunu go. Nitomo latji,
nohai halik tomo hain latji. Mega
hunu raru: ita ge kapuhik mega
kano mega niha ge tjoihala ita roro
lari niha go. Ninohik ha go mega
15 nihalik. Nitamon tulima itohira
nilalatji go. Niratan la liañ go hira
watin go noro mehama niapun.
Mega nitok papeu. Narai nimamate
niton niapun onige: ao ge aoma-
20 mate mega. Oni mimarohi tea, heo
aonean noro aoriun Pireri; ami-
mama haha reha noro kraï ma erik
la tearalan hira. Onima ma haheo
ami mitui gañ haha oni tea, natji
25 heo ami rua nean ma amimama ra
gañ go. Amira mega noro mira
puhik gañ go, mega mitaha tea.
Amilagun amino mega.

Karapais and his wife Pireri

That Elder Karapais and his wife Pireri came out of a hollow kajeput tree. They went to live with their followers in a certain hole. While they were staying in that hole, they saw enemies from another village coming. Then Karapais was told by his wife: we are going to die. Then Karapais arose and was going to cut down the enemies. But he began by cutting down his wife and his people first. Then he set out to go to those enemies. He got at them and cut down [part of them], then went after them again and cut down more of them. Then the enemies said: we are going to be killed all of us, so we had better leave behind his loincloth as we are running away with that loincloth. He picked up that loincloth and went back. He successively buried the men he had cut down. When he arrived at the hole, their dwelling-place, only he himself and his sister's son were left. Then he fell ill. When he was going to die, he instructed his sister's son as follows: Now I am going to die. When you people want to garden, you must call out my name and my wife Pireri's; we shall come with rice and maize and throw it into the

ground. When you want to call us, you must cook food and carry it to the garden, and then call out the names of us both, that we may come and eat that food. When we have eaten and you people also have eaten, then you may sow in the garden. — But now we have given up our custom.

XI

Erai noro Djam rohite

- 1 Naimumuna asuain harua nean
 Laik Mara noro Laik Kara noro
 hira rua ton rohi tea la namon eha
 nean Ili Kuhus. Mega loi Djam elia
 5 ma pali la lo^r ge mega rohai haga
 hira la djela. Laik Mara noro niriun
 rakadjoka manu lalari. Mega Laik
 Mara hopan niriun maotjo manu
 lalari go hunu te to hahaun. Laik
 10 Mara niriun otjo hunu Djam sa'.
 Mega niriun hahata harua go la
 kora la Laik Mara kapun. Mega
 Laik Mara nakadjoka kohu niopi
 ladji niriun harua go mate. Ninasō
 15 la hunu Djam sa' mega hirarohite.
 Laik Kara noro ito aaru lari puhik.
 La salantenan Laik Kara go halik
 ma tehu hunu go. Laik Mara noro
 Laik Kara roro hunu Djam go
 20 rohite mega asuain harua go rehi
 Djam hira aaru. Mega to hain lari
 rasō ma la tjahi. Laik Mara halik
 la niraha otjo niriun harua mate.
 Mega nino opi noro tea la niriun
 25 hiraheren go nihogir knohi nasō
 oni tjahi tjoī Djam hira ma la tjahi
 ge. Mega Djam hira ladji mate ni
 la tjahi ge. Laik Kara nohai otjo
 to aaru ma puhik halik la tea Ili

War between Erai and Damar
people

In olden times two war-chiefs, named Elder Mara and Elder Kara, and their people were gardening in a region, called Ili Kuhus. Then a boat from Damar came to anchor in the bay here and [the crew] went ashore to look for the people up in the mountains. Elder Mara and his wife were startled by birds flying up. So Elder Mara told his wife to go and see whether that flying up of birds meant enemies or friends. Elder Mara's wife saw those enemies from Damar. Then his two wives went to Elder Mara and embraced his belly. And Elder Mara in his terror drew his cutlass and slashed his two wives to death. He went down to the Damar enemies and then they fought. Elder Kara and his men ran away all of them. On the way Elder Kara [changed his mind and] went back to meet the enemies. Elder Mara and Elder Kara fought with the Damar enemies and the two chiefs defeated the Damar troops. Part of the latter then fled back to the coast. Elder Mara returned to his

- 1 Kuhus go. Mega Laik Kara noro
 ito mamane hirahaga Laik Mara
 matōk la tjahi ge. Hiraotjo mate
 mega otjo Djam sopar mega, hirao-
 5 hik Laik Mara taman lama tjahi ge.
 Hiratamon puhik rohai oni tea
 djela go. Hilaratan la Djam hira
 mamate go toluk kurun haak hia la
 pasi la tolan ili go. Henen hirate leu
 10 kurutoin go. Ratan henen halima
 taha hahi eha, tunu musan hahi go,
 tupi rohi utu haak natjama kuru-
 toin go noro tjuak harua harua
 natjama kurutoin, hia hahi noro
 15 tjuak go noro ton raru: karohihere
 mega, mi haak ge hia hahi noro
 tjuak ge ra holehole notji ratan
 miilin go. No onigo puhik ito hia
 kuratun go hia ma tasi la tutun go.
 20 Hirahalik ratan la ili rohi rara solan
 hira iliralan ra tjas. Puhik rohihere
 mega.

house and saw that his two wives were dead. Then he left his cutlass and his spear with his wives, dressed himself up, and descended to the coast, following the Damar people who were also going seaward. So the Damar people slashed him to death on this beach. Elder Kara, climbed up, saw all the men coming back to the gardens of Ili Kuhus. Then Elder Kara and the men went to look for Elder Mara and found him on the beach. When they saw that he was dead and that the Damar people had sailed away already, they buried Elder Mara on this beach. After they had buried him, they went up to the gardens. When they came to the Damar people who had been killed, they cut off four heads, took them along, and put them [on the tree] in the centre of the village. At night they danced round those skulls. On the fifth night they killed a pig, roasted it and cut it up, stringing together four small pieces for each of the skulls and two packets of cooked rice for each of them, and took this pork and rice [to the skulls] and addressed them thus: now we are going to separate, you four take this pork and this rice along with you to eat while travelling until you arrive at your village. After taking leave in this way, they took the heads to the cape and laid them down there. When they came back to the village, they prepared food and [then] the villagers ate together. After this they separated.

XII

Erai noro Napar roro djagan roHITE

- 1 Naimamuna loi djagan eha ma pali
la on Napar. Mega ito Napar eha
nanean Panusan ma heo ami Erai la
la Napar. Amiratan to Erai noro
- 5 Napar noro hira djagan go roHITE
mega. Ito Napar rehi to djagan
hatelu noro Erai rehi to eha. Loi
djagan eha go ito haak. Amiili
harua edja puhik hira go amire loi,
- 10 tunu loi go, noro nanakun amirohi-
here la ili harua ge. Rohihere puhik
teri to djagan haak go kuratun.
Amihia eha, Napar enen hatelu.
Amirohihere puhik to Erai ma halik
- 15 la ge, Napar lama hira'ili. Hia ratan
la ge tasi kuratun go la aiteas eha
pasi la tolan. Pasi puhik te hene
hene leo leo ratan leo matan halima
hia mega kurutoin go la no la tutun.
- 20 Mega ta rohi mega hala eha. —
Ralan eha halik loi djagan eha ma
halik pali la erhana ge. Ito djagan
go aaru tananau. Mega hiraturu
mega la ra. Mega to Erai rasō te to
- 25 djagan hira go edja puhik hira
loirin tatema. No ma anakotja noro
niana eha lama loi go. Hira rua resi
hatutaran lari oni Napar. Ratan la
Napar pali halik lanigo. Mega to
- 30 Erai tjoī halik la ratan la Napar
roro halik hira Napar edja puhik
anakotja noro nianan. Puhik re loi
go rohi nanakon rohihere la ili
harua ge noro tunu loi go. Puhik
- 35 mega ili harua ge rohihere. Kura-
tun eha anakotja sa' hira Napar
ene, kuratun anakotja go nianan
hirahia la ge. Te hene halima oni
mamuna go. — Ralan eha halik to
- 40 djagan haak hia loi eha ma pali la
erkahan ge. Hira iliralan Erai turu
sō la tjahi otjo hira djagan haak

Erai and Napar fight with
strangers

In olden times it happened that a foreign boat came to anchor in the bay of Napar. Then a Napar man, named Panusan, came to ask us Erai people to come to Napar. When we arrived, the Erai people and the Napar people together fought those strangers. The Napar people defeated three strangers and Erai defeated one. That foreign boat had a crew of four men. After our two villages had killed them, we pulled the boat ashore, burnt the boat, and divided the contents between these two villages. After dividing, we cut off the four strangers' heads. We took one with us, Napar owned three. After everything had been divided, the Erai people went back hither, the Napar people stayed in their village. After bringing it here we put the head on a stake and erected it in the centre of the village. After erecting it, people danced [round it] every night and every day until the fifth day, when they took the skull and left it on the promontory. After this nothing else was done. — Another time some foreign boat again came to anchor in the river here. Those foreigners were very numerous. They left their boat and went ashore. Then the Erai people came down and fought those foreigners and killed the whole crew. Only the captain and his son were left alive in the boat. Those two weighed anchor and fled to Napar. When they reached Napar, they anchored again there. But the Erai people also followed them to

1 go la mega ra. Hira Erai go ratan
 djagan hira go heti manu la hira
 ge. Mega hira Erai raru: manu mia
 pe atja tutun go. Mega to ge tjatjan
 5 hira djagan. Hira go la haga manu
 ma suri. Hिरaratan tutun go hira
 Erai edja mega hira djagan haak
 go. Puhik hira Erai ma halik, rohik
 loi go, turu nanakon here la ilira-
 10 lan, tunu loi go. Hirama halik la ili,
 hira to djagan kuratun go hira la
 halik teri; hia ma la ili, te halik
 onima mamuna go.

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Napar and, together with the Napar people, killed the captain and his son. Then they pulled the boat ashore and divided its contents between these two villages, while they burnt the boat. After this the two villages separated. The captain's head belonged to the Napar people, the captain's son's head was taken hither. There was dancing and singing for five nights as before. — Once again four strangers came in a boat and anchored in the mouth of the river here. The inhabitants of Erai descended to the beach and saw the four strangers go ashore. When the Erai people met with the strangers, the latter asked whether there were birds with the people here. Then the Erai people answered: there are birds but they are on the promontory. Then these men accompanied the strangers. The latter went to look for birds in order to shoot them. When they reached the promontory the Erai people killed those four strangers. Then the Erai people went back, took the boat, unloaded its contents, which were divided between the villagers, and burnt the boat. When they came back to the village, they again went to cut off the strangers' heads; they took them to the village and again there was dancing and singing as before.

XIII

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Aran Laik Leo

Naimamuna Aran eha nean Leo
 nitur la Kara. Aran go liu hunu la
 djulu ge aaru li', niheo ramutu ito
 nai Esulit notji ratan Hatutau la
 45 ramutu puhik la Kara. Hiramutu

Marna Elder Leo

In olden times a Marna, named Leo, was living at Kara. That Marna heard that there were too many enemies in the East, so he summoned the people from Esulit

- 1 puhik ito Esulit eha nean Makerek
 noro ito ma hole namon la Esulit
 ninohitehu mega hunu la Esulit.
 Mega nihalik ratan la Kara nitapa
 5 la Aran Kara go. Tapa puhik Aran
 Kara go hopa ito ma terik hunu go.
 Hirama ma go hirahia loi, hunu rala
 ra. Ito hahia loi go ratan la Esulit
 ta tōk hunu go hirahalihalik. Ma
 10 ratan namon eha nean Eputi hira-
 nūnuk mega hunu go lukunea.
 Mega hain hia loi ito hain rala ra.
 Hiraratan la Djuruain hirohitōk
 mega hunu la nigo mega hiraro-
 15 hite. Hunu go lari oni hira'ili. Mega
 ito hira go halik oni ili Kara hira-
 raru la Aran Kara: hunu go lari
 mega oni hira'ili. — Mega amiiliili
 tatema ramutu ma la Kara go.
 20 Ratan anitepun haga ani, ta natja
 to ili go; noro no noro ulu rohik
 naran naran ta natja la hira ili go.
 Leo eha go Aran Wesiri eha nean
 Tapenu piri nain niilin hia loi noro
 25 nitonhira. Ratan mega on Kara
 hene hirapali loi go la lōr. Mega
 Aran Tapenu go hopan sō loi go
 onī ra.

to Hatutau for a general meeting at Kara. When they were assembled, some Esulit man, named Make-rek, and his followers went exploring the territory of Esulit and met with enemies in Esulit. Then he went back to Kara and told the Marna of Kara. After being told the Marna of Kara ordered men to go and intercept those enemies. When they were going they went by boat whereas the enemies went over land. When the men who were travelling by boat arrived at Esulit, they did not find the enemies, so they went back again. Reaching a place, called Eputi, they discovered the enemies' footprints. So then part of them went on by boat and the others travelled over land. When they had got as far as Djuruain, they found the enemies there and then they fought with them. The enemies fled to their village. Then the men returned to the village of Kara and said to the Marna of Kara: the enemies fled to their village. — Now the inhabitants of all our villages were assembled at Kara. When the season of collecting bee-wax had come and they went to look for it, there was not enough for that village population; and when they took no more than the usual number of coconuts and breadfruit, there was not enough for the inhabitants. On that same day the Marna of Wesiri, named Tapenu, with his followers left his village by boat. When they arrived in the anchorage of Kara, it was night, so they anchored at sea. Then Marna Tapenu ordered to take the boat ashore.

1 Nituru la ratan la Maganu raha
nigoton rahalukun go. Mega Ma-
ganu go anan hahata eha nean
Pirere heo niama: opanu, ito eha
5 atja orañ ge. Etji Maganu go panu
nohik niupak naru la upak go:
omasō oni orañ, ito go ma koho
aomaliu. Mega tatuan Aran Ta-
penu go koho mega. Maganu liu
10 onigo ni turu sō ratan la orañ hira
rua rohihia lima. Mega hira rua hai
oni djela lek hira rua rohitapa la
nigo notji hira rua rasō halik la
orañ. Mega Maganu sa' kua mega
15 on Aran Tapenu go rehi mega ni.
Onigo Maganu nianan mamane eha
nean Magain Maromak resi mega
oni Maromak heren. Naima go
ratan ge Magain sa' ni lame, ami-
20 tananaun mega. Panahuru Aran
Wesiri go halik oni ili. Mega ami-
iliili Aran Kara go naru: eha eha
nila halik ma niili. Aran naru onigo
puhik amiiliili rohihere mega oni
25 amiili. Hira Esulit ratan la hira'ili
mega to ili ili ma halik ma la Esulit
la heo Aran Tapenu la Wesiri ma
tur la Naumatañ. Mega opi noro
tea no puhik la nigo, ta roHITE mega
30 notji ratan ma ge.

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Tjotja Pirara

Naimamuna hahata Napar eha
nean Pirara nikurunron go naaru
45 tananau. Ralan eha nila meti niosa

After landing he went to Maganu's house and struck against a house-pile. Then Maganu's daughter Pirere cried to her father: get up, there is somebody down here! Then Maganu rose, took his medicine, and said to that medicine: go down and make that person cough, so that I hear it. After a short time already Marna Tapenu coughed. When Maganu heard it, he descended and, when he got down, they grasped each other's hands. Then they climbed up half-way and were talking there until they went down again. Then that man Maganu was crying because Marna Tapenu had overcome him. After this the Creator took Maganu's son Magain unto himself. From that time up to now we have been ignorant of Magain's abode. Early in the morning Marna Wesiri went back to his village. Then the inhabitants of our villages were told by Marna Kara: everybody shall go back to his village. After the Marna had spoken thus, we people of the other villages separated and returned to our villages. When the Esulit people arrived at their village, people from other villages came to Esulit to invite Marna Tapenu at Wesiri to come and live in Naumatang. After that cutlass and spear were left alone there altogether, there has been no fighting up to the present day.

XIV

The story of Pirara

In olden times there was a Napar woman, named Pirara, whose hairs were exceedingly long. Once upon

- 1 kurunron go anan eha nitau la akaruha. Meti airon ulun eha ma ninaru la meti go: mi ge hia aokururon oni Lirañ ne Laik to eha nean
- 5 Birkai. Ninaru onigo puhik nirego akaruha go la metikahan go. Mega meti go nasō oni Lirañ. Leo eha go Birkai mala ra nohitehu mega metiulu eha go. Nimate meti go mega
- 10 meti go raru la ni: osate ami ge, amihia okarima. Birkai liu meti go tatapa nileguran, nilari. Mega meti go heo: osalari, erak ami la nigo, mohik ohala ge. Birkai liu onigo
- 15 nierak. Mega meti go ratan la Birkai hirararu: omaerak on karima atja nigo. Birkai naru: nusan Lirañ ge mamohok mega. Meti raru: tōra, ta mohok. Birkai go naru la meti:
- 20 ito ili Lirañ ge ma mate puhik mega. Meti go raru: tōra, ito ta mate pe omamohik okariman ge. Mega meti go loi nikahan akaruha go naplihu^r. Etji Birkai manohik akaruha go.
- 25 Mega meti go raru: go hahata eha la Napar nean Pirara ne la o. Mega Birkai go nohai oni ili. Niratan la ili niheo ninaran harua nean Pipui noro Pinai. Hira rua ma, nilihur
- 30 kurunron go ne la ninaran harua go otjo kurunron go. Mega hirasuka la hiraenen pe nienen naaru lik. Mega no halik kurunron go la akaruha go. Birkai sa' te la anahira tetu nalun.
- 35 Puhik Birkai noro nitonhira hai loi ma la Napar haga Pirara go.

a day she went to the coral-reef, cut off some of her hair, and put it in a small basket. When there came a shoal of fish, she said to those fishes: you take this hair of mine to Lirang and give it to a certain Elder, named Birkai. After saying this she threw the basket into the mouth of a fish. Then those fishes crossed to Lirang. That same day Birkai happened to be fishing and met with that shoal. When he was going to spear those fishes, the fishes said to him: don't spear us, we are carrying something for you. When Birkai heard the fishes speaking, he got afraid and fled. Then the fishes called: don't flee, wait for us there to accept this property of yours. When Birkai heard that, he waited. Then the fishes came to Birkai and said: you must wait because something meant for you is here. Birkai said: the island Lirang will perhaps be flooded. The fishes said: no, it will not be flooded. Birkai said to the fishes: the people of this village of Lirañ will perhaps die all of them. The fishes answered: no, the people will not die, but you must take this that has been sent to you. Then the fish opened its mouth and the basket fell out. Now Birkai came and took the basket. Then the fishes said: this is given to you by a woman at Napar, named Pirara. Then Birkai climbed up to the village. When he arrived at the village, he called his two sisters, named Pipui and Pinai. When they came, he took out that hair and showed it to his two sisters. Then they measured its length against their own hair, but hers was longer. Then they put that hair back in the basket. Birkai ordered

- 1 Ratan la Napar heo hahata Napar
iliralan ma suka kururon go pe
naaru lik hira go enen. Heo halik
Pirara go ma suka kururon go noro
5 nienen mega noroma ton. Mega
Birkai go heti: hahata ge nean hari?
Mega to Napar raru: to ge nean
Pirara. Etji Birkai go ne osa la
niina ama lea mega Pirara go la loi
10 mega hirasopar. Hilaratan la namon
eha nanean Repan loiselak namkati.
Hirasō oni ra. Hilaratan la ra
hirla rohik petuñ marohi halik
loiselak. Hirla puhik Pirara sa'
15 topu ēr. Puhik nilole nakwari, ha-
hata eha nean Pirubu ma mega la
ni ke niutun. Pirara mata herak
napu mega. Etji Pirubu go si Pirara
kurunron la ketjañ puhik ninohik
20 Pirara huta senhalik la nin. Puhik
Birkai noro nitonhira ma heo
Pirara: ma, kataun mega. Pirara ta
nasō, Pirubu nasō halik Birkai.
Hirahai loi rasō oni Lirañ. Pirara
25 go panu otjo nihuta ta mia mega
noro kurunron si puhik mega la
ketjañ ketjañ. Mega nikua. Ta
tuan manuananulun eha ma mega
renu ēr la niheren go. Mega manu
30 go heti la Pirara: okua hala? Pirara
naru: aokua tjo! aokurunron ge si
puhik la ketjañ. Mega manu go
raru: amarenu puhik ēr natji ameti
loi kurunron go. Manu go renu
35 puhik ēr hirla mega rurik kurun-
ron go. Rurik puhik Pirara go naru:
ao ge ma ne hala la mi! Mila mega
ra reha noro hetan la aotea eha
nanean Rare Mera. Manu go liu
40 onigo hirla mega ra reha noro
hetan sa'. Pirara sa' nimama mega
oni Napar.

his children to prepare provisions.
When this had been done, Birkai
and his men went aboard and sailed
to Napar to look for Pirara.

When they arrived at Napar, they
invited all the women of Napar to
come and measure that hair, but it
was longer than theirs. When they
invited again, Pirara came and
measured the hair against hers and
then it was found to be of the same
length. Then Birkai asked: what is
the name of this woman? The
Napar people answered: this per-
son's name is Pirara. Then Birkai
paid the marriage-gift to her mother
and father, took Pirara on board,
and then they sailed away. When
they had reached a region called
Repan, the gig broke. They landed.
When they came ashore, they went
to fetch a piece of bamboo to make
another gig. When they were gone,
Pirara bathed. Afterwards she was
resting, lying on her back, when
a woman, named Pirubu, came to
her and loused her. Pirara's eyes
were heavy and she fell asleep.
Then Pirubu tied Pirara with her
hair to a ketjang-tree, took her
dress, and put it on herself. By that
time Birkai and his men came and
called to Pirara: come, we are leav-
ing! Pirara did not come, Pirubu
came back to Birkai instead. They
went aboard and sailed to Lirang.
When Pirara woke up, she saw
that her dress was gone and that
her hair had been tied to ketjang-
trees. Then she wept. After a while
a swarm of small birds alighted
near her to drink. Then those birds
asked Pirara: why are you crying?
Pirara answered: I am crying be-
cause my hair has been tied to the
ketjang. Then the birds said: when

- 1 Ratan la erhana nean Hanasa noro-
tehu mega hea eha la nigo. Pirara
go naru hea sa' la nigo: aomaloa.
Hea go naru: ma hai la aotinan ge,
5 aomahia o oni o'ili. Mega Pirara go
hai la hea go nitina noro hea go
naru: omatau onime? Pirara go
naru: aomatau oni Liran aomat-
joi huta. Mega hea go hahaso
10 Pirara go oni Liran. Ratan la er eha
nanean Malutju nituru la nigo
ninaru la hea: ao ge aomane hala
la o pe omahai la ratan la Napar
mua aohahi puti eha la nigo. Ninaru
15 onigo puhik hea sa' nohai oni
Napar la na hahi go. Pirara sa' nila
ratan er go nihai la hauun eha la
pasuk la haulegar. Lemohun Birkai
inan nean Pimetan noro nianan
20 nean Pipui ma soi ēr. Hिरारतान
Pirara go ke hauron eha pita nia-
puren la hauron go so la ēr go.
Mega Pipui go otjo hauron go noro
ninaru la niina: ina, otjo tara halai
25 eha ge onima apuren go. Niina go
otjo noro tjai oni djela otjo mega
Pirara go. Mega niheti: to eha
djela ge o nai me? Ninaru: aoma-
turu nahu natji katapa. Pirara go
30 turu ratan la oran naru la Pimetan
noro niana: ao ge nean Pirara,
Birkai muna lea go Pirubu. Nitapa
onigo puhik Pimetan noro niana
roro mega Pirara oni ili. Hिरारतान
35 la ili hiradjok Pirara go la Pimetan
raha. Henen Pimetan go heo Birkai

we have finished drinking, we shall untie your hair. When the birds had finished drinking, they went and untied that hair. When it was loose, Pirara said: what shall I give to you! You may go and eat rice and millet in a garden of mine, called Red Earth. When the birds heard that, they went away to eat that rice and millet. Pirara then set out to Napar. When she came to a river called Hanasa, she found there a crocodile. Pirara said to that crocodile there: I want to travel. The crocodile answered: climb on to my back, I shall take you to your village. Then Pirara mounted the crocodile's back and the crocodile said: where do you want to go? Pirara answered: I want to go to Lirang, I am going to follow my dress. Then the crocodile transported Pirara to Lirang. When they arrived at a watering-place named Malutju, she got off there and said to the crocodile: what shall I give you! You had better return to Napar and devour my white pig there. After she had spoken thus, the crocodile returned to Napar to eat that pig. Pirara, having arrived at that watering-place, climbed up a hibiscus-tree and sat down in its top. Towards night Birkai's mother, named Pimetan, and her daughter, named Pipui, came to draw water. When they arrived, Pirara plucked a hibiscus-leaf, spitted on that leaf, and threw it down into the water. Then Pipui saw that hibiscus-leaf and said to her mother: mother, just look, there is something like spittle. Her mother looked and, glancing upwards, saw Pirara. Then she asked: person up here, whence have you come? The

1 ma la niraha nimaotjo mega Pirara
 sa'. Mega nitala ma raha. Pirubu
 erak niriun go, ta la ma raha. Nima
 mega heo niriun go noro naru: noi-
 5 hala otama la raha? Mega ninohai
 oni la tutu niotjo mega Pirara sa'.
 Mega ninaru la niriun: otati la raha
 tjo i ootjo mega oriun ge. Mega
 Pirubu go naru: aomunatok mamane
 10 ge aolatjio, omate; omunatok aoriun
 ge go olatjiao, aomate. Onigo Bir-
 kai nahi sapia eha nai soti ne la
 Pirubu notji latji Pirara, taniti.
 Nine halik opi la Pirara notji latji
 15 Pirubu mega Pirubu mate. Pirubu
 go mate mega Birkai noro Pirara
 sa' rohihoa. Mega puhik la nigo.

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answer was: I shall come down
 first, then we shall talk. When
 Pirara had come down, she told
 Pimetan and her daughter: my
 name is Pirara, the woman Birkai
 has taken along is Pirubu. When
 she had spoken thus, Pimetan and
 her daughter took Pirara to the vil-
 lage. When they arrived at the
 village, they hid Pirara in Pime-
 tan's house. At night Pimetan in-
 vited Birkai to her house, so that
 he would see Pirara. Then he did
 not go back home. Pirubu was
 waiting for her husband but he did
 not come home. Then she came to
 call her husband, calling to him:
 why don't you come home? Then
 she climbed up to the house and
 saw Pirara. Now she said to her
 husband: you don't come home be-
 cause you see this wife of yours.
 And further Pirubu said: if I have
 been the first to get this man, you
 shall die when I slash you; if you
 have been the first to get my hus-
 band, I shall die when you slash
 me. Then Birkai made a cutlass out
 of bamboo and gave it to Pirubu
 to slash Pirara, but the latter was
 not hurt. Then again he gave a cut-
 lass to Pirara to slash Pirubu, who
 was killed. When Pirubu was dead,
 Birkai and Pirara married. That is
 the end.

XV

Tea haheli

Gardens of value

40 Aranak isin iliralan la rohi tolan.
 Rohi puhik rohi helik. Helik go rohi
 puhik noron gelon la helik go.
 Gelon puhik to iliralan la ramutu la
 raha sa'. Hia hahi eha, hutu, lorik
 45 la tolan go. Onimanigo namo'upun

First of all the inhabitants of the
 village make a small compound in
 the forest. After that they make
 a bamboo bench. After making the
 bench they hang it all round with
 cocopalm leaves. When this has

1 heo namorin naru onige: heo la
 Laruru [?] namorin ma ra hahi
 noro gañ ge. Niheo onigo puhik
 taha hahi hahutu go, nihopan niiton
 5 tunu hahi mamate go. Tunu puhik
 rohik aten hia la namo'upun otjo
 ateh go. Ta haun, edja halik hahi
 eha; ateh go kai, ta edja mega hahi,
 onigo haun mega. Musan hahi go,
 10 eha eha nohik nienen anan eha la
 gelon la eha eha tea. Onimanigo
 rohik hahi apen, tunu, tau la krau
 eha, solan la helik go noro gañ.
 Krau natjama ito solan puhik la
 15 helik go, namorin hira ra hahi noro
 gañ sasolan la helik go. Puhik gañ
 noro hahi sasolan la helik go ana-
 hira iliralan la ra puhik gañ noro
 hahi go. Ra puhik namo'upun noro
 20 iliralan la mega hau tea, hau muna
 namo'upun enen. La la tea haheli
 go hene hene kalu titi noro talo
 noro te ratan namo sirak. Hau tea
 go puhik rakawari hene hene notji
 25 ratan tea sasuni. Ratan ma suni tea
 hia halik hahi eha, lorik la tolan.
 Namu'upun heo halik ma namorin
 ma ra halik hahi noro gañ. Haheo
 go namo'upun tjoi. Namu'upun heo
 30 namorin puhik edja halik hahi go
 tunu, musan, rohik halik aten, hia
 halik la namo'upun otjo halik hahi
 aten. Hahi aten go ta haun, onigo
 edja halik eha, hahi ateh go haun
 35 oni kai go ta edja mega. Rohik halik
 hahi apen, tunu halik, tau la krau
 eha, solan la helik go. Hahata eha
 eha hia gañ krau eha ma solan la
 helik go. Solan puhik namo'upun
 40 heo namorin ma ra hahi noro gañ
 sasolan la helik go. Namorin ra
 puhik heo halik ito iliralan ma ra
 gañ noro hahi sasolan la helik go.
 Ra puhik la suni mega tea leo eha
 45 go.

been done, the people of the village assemble in that place. They bring a pig, tie it, and lay it down in the compound. Now the village-chief calls the earth-spirits with these words: I invite the earth-spirits to come and eat this pig and this rice. After calling out thus he kills the tied pig and orders his men to roast the killed pig. After roasting they take the liver and present it to the village-chief to inspect it. If it is not good, another pig is killed; if the liver is strong, no more pigs are killed, as it is good already. The pig is cut up and each takes a small part of it as his own and hangs it up in his garden. Now they take the pig's neck-beef, roast it, put it on a plate, and lay it out on the bench together with rice. After as many plates as there are men have been laid out on the bench, the earth-spirits eat the pork and the rice that are lying ready on the bench. After the rice and pork lying ready on the bench have been eaten, the people of the village go and eat up what is left of the rice and the pig. When they have finished eating, the village-chief and the villagers go and prepare the garden, the chief's being prepared first. Every night they go to the gardens of value, beat the drums and the gongs, and dance and sing till day-break. When the work in the gardens is finished, they feast every night until the time has come for burning off the gardens. When it is time to burn off the gardens, they bring a pig again and lay it down in the compound. Once more the village-chief invites the earth-spirits to come and eat pork and rice. It is only the village-chief who

- 1 Suni puhik rei halik ma la tolan go
rakawari halik noro te. Sirak hutu
halik hahi eha lorik la tolan go.
Namo'upun heo halik namorin
- 5 onige: namorin, mama ra hahi noro
gañ ge amirojtjirakmohun ai lalaru
namo namo noro hatu hatu noro
rare, rakmohun tau hahi eha ge.
Namo'upun heo onigo puhik taha
- 10 hahi go. Hahi go mate, tunu hahi
go, rohik halik ma aten hia la
namo'upun otjo halik. Ateñ go
haun, ta edja mega, ni ta haun, edja
halik eha. Rohik halik hahi ape,
- 15 tunu halik, tau la krau eha solan
halik. Hahatahira eha eha hia ma
nigañ la krau eha la solan la helik
go. Solan puhik namo'upun heo
halik namorin ma ra hahi noro gañ
- 20 ge. Namorin go ra puhik, to iliralan
la ra halik ma gañ noro hahi go
puhik. Rohi onigo puhik usan mama

invites them. After the village-chief has invited the earth-spirits, the pig is killed, roasted and cut up again, they again take the pig's liver and present it to the village-chief for inspection. If the pig's liver is not good, then they kill another, if it is good because it is strong, there is no more killing. Again they take the pig's neck-beef, roast it, put it on a plate, and lay it out on the bench. Each woman brings one plate of rice and sets it out on the bench. Then the village-chief invites the earth-spirits to come and eat the pork and rice that has been set out on the bench. After the earth-spirits have eaten, he again invites the people of the village to come and eat the rice and pork lying ready on the bench. After eating they go and burn off the gardens that same day.

When the burning off is finished, they again go to the compound and amuse themselves with dancing and singing. When it grows light, a pig is tied again and laid down in the compound. The village-chief again invites the earth-spirits thus: earth-spirits, come and eat this pig and rice, that we may cool down the fire that is devouring the gardens, the stones, and the earth, cooling it down by means of this pig. After the village-chief has called out thus, the pig is killed. When the pig is dead, it is roasted, and once more its liver is taken to the village-chief to be inspected. If the liver is good, there is no more killing, if it is not good, another one is killed. Again they take the pig's neck-beef, roast it, put it on a plate, and lay it out. Each of the women brings her rice on a plate and sets it out on the

- 1 tataha tea, hia halik ma hahi eha,
 hutu, lorik la tolan. Namo'upun heo
 halik ma namorin onige: namorin,
 ma ra hahi ge noro gañ ge. Amima-
 5 sahur mega titi noro talo mano
 mega noro ta te mano mega la ge.
 Namo'upun heo onigo puhik, taha
 halik hahi go, tunu, rohih halik ma
 hahi aten hia la namo'upun otjo
 10 halik. Hahi aten go nimahaun, ta
 edja mega, ta haun, edja halik hahi
 eha notji hahi aten go nimahaun.
 Rohik halik ma hahi apen, tunu, tau
 la krau eha solan noroma gañ halik,
 15 heo halik ma namorin ma ra hahi
 noro gañ sasolan la helik go. Namo-
 rinhira ra puhik, heo hira iliralan.
 Hia gañ go noro hahi go hia oni
 tearalan. Ra gañ noro hahi lama
 20 tearalan go. Ra puhik: gais! noro
 raru: namorino! hia ma reha, krai,
 le, kapuan, kelin, hilu, hamitjai hia
 ma la tetea ge. Heo onigo puhik
 halik la ili. Panahuru la tea taha
 25 reha noro krai. Taha puhik raka-
 wari ma. Reha noro krai go ihin,
 hutu halik hahi eha, lorik halik la
 tolan go.

bench. After this setting out the village-chief again invites the earth-spirits to come and eat this pork and rice. When the earth-spirits have finished eating, the people of the village come again and eat what is left of the rice and pork. When, after this has been done, rain comes, and they want to plant in the gardens, a pig is brought again, tied, and laid down in the compound. The village-chief once more invites the earth-spirits, saying: earth-spirits, come and eat this pig and this rice. We shall put away drums and gongs and leave off dancing and singing, just leave it off here. After the village-chief has called out thus, the pig is killed and roasted again, and its liver is again taken to the village-chief for inspection. If the pig's liver is good, they kill no more, if it is not good, they once more kill a pig [and keep doing this] until the pig's liver is good. Again they take the pig's neck-beef, roast it, put it on a plate and set it out again, together with rice, and again the earth-spirits are invited to come and eat the pork and rice that have been set out on the bench. After the earth-spirits have eaten, the people of the village are invited. The rice and the pork are taken to the gardens. They eat the rice and pork in the gardens. After eating they cry out: ah! and they say: earth-spirits! bring rice, maize, pumpkins, cucumbers, shad-docks, yams, sweet potatoes, bring them to these gardens. After calling out thus they return to the village. Early in the morning they go to the gardens to sow rice and maize. After sowing they are idle, just amusing themselves with dancing

- 1 Namo'upun heo halik ma namorin
onige: namorin hiranigo, ami ge ma
ra mega krai noro reha; mima mega
ka tema ra! Heo onigo puhik, taha
5 hahi, tunu, rohik aten, hia halik ma
la namo'upun otjo hahi aten go:
nimahaun go ta edja mega, ta haun
go ma edja halik eha notji ratan
aten go nimahaun. Rohik halik hahi
10 apen, tunu halik, tau la krau eha la
solan la helik go. Hahata hira hia
halik ma gan krau eha eha ma solan
halik la helik go noroma hahi krau
eha go. Namo'upun heo halik
15 namorin onige: namorin, ma ra hahi
noro gan ge noro leo eha ge raka-
wari anan eha. Namorinhira ra, kalo
halik ma titi noro talo rotji asuk
namorinhira go. Namorinhira ra
20 puhik, heo anahira ra halik ma gan
go noro hahi sasolan la helik go.
Puhik rohik halik titi noro talo go
puhik la tulan. Onimanigo ito la
mega rohik reha noro krai hia ma la
25 ili ra mega. Rohik puhik reha noro
krai la tearalan reha go seka la
ruma golu puhik krai. Ramutu
halik, hia halik hahi eha, hutu, lorik
la tolan. Namo'upun heo halik
30 namorin, niheo onige: namorin,
mima ra gan noro hahi ge. Amira-
paliho^r mega oni namo raradja. Titi
noro talo ami ta kalo mega. Taha
hahi go, tunu, rohik hahi ate hia la
35 namo'upun otjo halik hahi aten go:
nimaradja mega go, to edja mega
hahi, hahi aten go ta haun, edja
halik ma eha notji aten go radja.
Rohik halik hahi apen, tunu, tau la
40 krau eha, solan la helik go. Hahata-
hira hia halik gan la krau eha eha
solan la helik go. Solan puhik heo

and singing. When the rice and the maize are ripe, a pig is tied again and laid down in the compound.

The village-chief once more calls the earth-spirits thus: all the earth-spirits here, we want to eat maize and rice; you come, that we may feast together! After he has called out thus, the pig is killed and roasted and the liver is again taken to the village-chief for inspection: if it is good, there is no more killing, if it is not good, another pig is killed until the liver is good. The pig's neck-beef is again taken, roasted, put on a plate, and set out on the bench. Each of the women again brings a plate with rice and lays it out on the bench together with the plates of pork. The village-chief again invites the earth-spirits thus: earth-spirits, come and eat this pork and rice and feast a little to-day! While the earth-spirits are eating, the drums and gongs are beaten again in honour of the earth-spirits. When the earth-spirits have finished eating, the villagers are again invited to eat the rice and pork that have been set out on the bench. After this the drums and gongs are once more put away altogether. When this has been done, the people harvest rice and maize, take it to the village, and eat. After the rice and the maize have been harvested in the gardens, the rice is stored in the granary and the maize is bundled and hung upon posts. They assemble again, a pig is brought again, tied, and laid down in the compound. The village-chief again invites the earth-spirits thus: earth-spirits, you come and eat this rice and pork. We want to leave

1 namorin ma ra hahi noro gañ saso-
lan la helik go. Namorin ra puhik
heo halik anahira ma ra puhik gañ
noro hahi sasolan la helik go. Oni-
5 manigo tula titi noro talo. Iliralan
ma mega la ili tjahi, to ta la mega
rohi tea la namo go.

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and go to a good place. The drums
and gongs are not beaten anymore!
The pig is killed and roasted and
its liver is again taken to the vil-
lage-chief to be inspected: if it is
good, no more pigs are killed, if the
pig's liver is not good, another one
is killed until the liver is good.
Again they take the pig's neck-
beef, roast it, put it on a plate, and
set it out on the bench. And again
each of the women brings a plate
of rice and sets it out on the bench.
When these things have been set
out, the earth-spirits are invited to
come and eat the pork and rice that
have been set out on the bench.
When the earth-spirits have finish-
ed eating, again the villagers are
invited to come and eat the rice and
pork that have been set out on the
bench. After this the drums and
gongs are put away. The people
come to the government village and
do not go to work in the outlying
gardens any longer.

XVI

Tea mamusun

30 Hulan ma raratan hahau tea to ili-
ralan ramutu. Eha eha ma naru la
namo'upun nimahau tea la me. Eha
eha naru puhik ma hahau la namo
me rohihere. Sirak namo'upun muna
35 hau tea nienen. Etji to aaru la hau
hiraenen la leo eha go. Hau puhik
nō ta edja hahi eha go tora. Not-
jima geras iliralan ramutu halik
tapa sirak ma sasuni tea. Onigo
40 hiraohihere. Sirak namo'upun
muna suni nienen, natji ito aaru
suni hiraenen la leo eha go tjoi.
Suni puhik ta edja hahi oni tea
haheli. Usan ma, iliralan ramutu
45 halik. Namu'upun naru: joar ge ma

Empty gardens

When the time has come to till the
gardens, the villagers assemble.
Each comes to tell the village-chief
where he intends to make a garden.
When each has told where he
wants to make a garden, they
separate. At daybreak the village-
chief first tills his. Then the villa-
gers make theirs on that same day.
After the tilling not a single pig is
killed. When the gardens are dry,
the people of the village assemble
again and arrange to burn off the
gardens next morning at daybreak.
Then they separate. At daybreak
the village-chief first burns off his

1 taha mega tea. Namo sirak namo'-
 upun muna taha nienen, natji to
 iliralan taha hiraenen. Taha puhik
 nō ma. Gañ ma ihin, namo'upun
 5 muna nohik nienen na muna, natji
 iliralanhira ra hiraenen. Reha noro
 krai ma geras, namo'upun muna
 nohik nienen, netji iliralan rohk
 hiraenen. Rohk puhik, reha seka la
 10 ruma, krai golu. Reha noro krai
 seka puhik, ma la ili tjahi. Tea
 mamusun ge tananau edja hahi
 noro kalu titi noro talo. Eha go luli
 isin isin; naima amipaun ratan ge
 15 tananau kakalu.

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garden, and then the villagers burn
 off theirs on that same day. When
 the burning is finished, no pig is
 killed as is done for the gardens of
 value. When rain comes, the people
 of the village assemble again. The
 village-chief says: to-morrow we
 are going to sow and plant in the
 gardens. At daybreak the village-
 chief first plants his garden, then
 the villagers plant theirs. After the
 planting the gardens are left alone.
 When the crop is ripe, the village-
 chief is the first to take some of his
 and eat it, after which the people
 take some of theirs and eat it.
 When the rice and the maize are
 dry, the village-chief is the first to
 harvest his, and then the people
 harvest theirs. After the harvesting
 the rice is stowed away in the
 granary and the maize is bundled
 and hung up. After storing the rice
 and the maize they go to the coast-
 village. There has never been any
 killing of pigs for these empty
 gardens, nor any beating of drums
 and gongs. The latter is strictly for-
 bidden; from the time of our ances-
 tors up to the present day there has
 never been any beating.

XVII

Heo reha

Calling the rice

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Naimamuna Laik eha nean Maga-
 nun pali loi la tjahiralan ninapu.
 Loi go noro la ni oni lek lo'. Maga-
 nun go hene hatelu leo hatelu ni ta
 40 eran. Ratan leo ma hatelu go hatu
 eha pole nai djela nene la loiralan,
 Maganun nakadjoka. Nieran otjo
 nusan ta mia. Mega Maganun naru:
 ao ge ma mate mega. Ninaru onigo
 45 hatu'upun go naru: o ta mate, otau-

Long, long ago an Elder, named
 Maganun, was floating with his
 canoe in the sea, when he fell
 asleep. The boat drifted off with
 him far into the sea. During three
 nights and three days Maganun did
 not wake up. On the third day
 a stone fell down into the canoe
 and made Maganun start from his
 sleep. When he woke up, he saw

1 mahai oni ra, onusan atja ra ge; ao
 ge nean Esulit. Omaratan la Nusan
 namon eha otjatjali go nimanean
 lusi ma ao ge. Ao ge reha noro krai
 5 upun. Mega onigo Maganun otjo la
 hatu go krai noro reha lama ralan.
 Niotjo onigo nihia ma hatu go
 nohai oni Nusan. Niratan na Nusan
 on Esulit go leo mata hatelu. Nira-
 10 tan la ili niheo ramutu iliralan pasi
 hatu go la rare la Esulit. Maganun
 go nileo ta heo reha noro krai. Ma
 nimamate, niton nianahira onigo:
 aomamate mega; ton hatelu miheo
 15 reha noro krai. Niton onigo puhik
 Maganun go mate. Ton hatelu
 ratan, nianahira rohi onige: rohi
 raha eha la ili puhik tui gañ, hoki
 la krau natja la ito iliralan; seka la
 20 raha go aniwe krau ha'itu; malu
 lolon ha'itu, pua ha'itu, kur ha'itu
 tau tjas mega la krau eha solan la
 rahalen go. Solan puhik kraiupun
 25 nanean Makele heo onigo: Maga-
 nun, moroturu reha noro krai pari
 la tea tea ge, pipui ge mamau ge
 ihin makmohun ma tjirin. Ma mua
 gañ ge mama pua noro moak kur
 30 ge! Makele heo onigo puhik iliralan
 ra gañ go noro mama pua noro
 malu puhik kur go nōma: tataha
 tea, natji moak kur go la tearalan.
 Amihaheo reha noro krai ge, ton
 35 hatelu amiheo ralan eha. Amirohi
 onima mamuna go. Amimaotjo
 namon papehur noro klar, amiotjo
 la hatu go onige: oni rare go nino-
 hai hatu go nimanōma mametju
 40 limakrakun eha go, mapehur; otjo
 namon ma klar go, rare go nasō
 hatu go poha. Amilagun haheo
 reha noro krai ge ta nō onhala luli
 isiisin; amimanō, amimamate puhik.

that the Island was not there any
 more. So Maganun said: I am going
 to die. When he said this, the
 stone-spirit spoke: you will not die,
 you must sail on to the land, your
 island is there; my name is Esulit.
 When you reach the Island, the
 territory where you will stay should
 be named after me. I am the rice-
 and maize-spirit. Now Maganun
 saw that there was maize and rice
 in that stone. When he saw this,
 he took the stone along to the
 Island. He reached the Island and
 the bay of Esulit in three days.
 When he arrived at the village, he
 called the people together to im-
 plant the stone in the earth at Esu-
 lit. Maganun did not call up the
 rice and maize during his own life-
 time. When he was going to die, he
 instructed his children thus: now
 I am going to die; every third year
 you should call up the rice and the
 maize. After giving them this in-
 struction Maganun died. When the
 third year had come, his children
 acted thus: they built a house in
 the village and then cooked food,
 put it on as many plates as there
 were people; put away in that house
 seven plates of honey; laid together
 on a plate seven pieces of sirih,
 seven pinang nuts, and seven ciga-
 rettes, and set it out in the house.
 All the sick people came and sat
 down under the house. After these
 preparations the maize-priest, nam-
 ed Makele, called out thus: Maga-
 nun, descend with rice and maize
 (and make them) thrive in these
 gardens, cool the bodies of sick
 women and sick men, that they feel
 well. Come and eat this food, chew
 sirih, and smoke these cigarettes!
 After Makele had called out thus,

the people ate that food and chewed pinang and sirih, but the cigarettes were left alone: only when they were tilling the gardens, they would smoke the cigarettes in the gardens. We use to call up the rice and the maize once in three years. We have been doing this from the olden times. If we want to see whether the gardens will give plenty or want, we look at the stone: if the earth rises so that only one finger's length of the stone remains visible, there will be plenty; we see that there will be want, if the earth sinks and the stone is tall. Our custom of calling up the rice and the maize is not abolished, because it is exceedingly sacred; if we abolished it, we should die all of us.

XVIII

Haheo ani

- 1 Niamamuna Laik Garen amipaun
 eha hopan niana eha noro niapun
 eha la oso ani. Hira rua la haga
 ani ta tōk. Mega soi ēr la enian eha
 5 rotji la rapé hiraama. Hira rua
 ratan la hiraama hira rua raru: mua
 mega aniēr ge! Hiraama nohik
 enian go seli la krau; niotjo ta aniēr
 erik ēr go. Onigo Laik Garen garak
 10 mega niana harua go, hopan niha-
 turinhira raloa haga aniupun. Tōk
 aniupun nanean Leowalu noro Tjai-
 walu. Aniupun go heti Laik Garen
 nihaturinhira: mimarohi hala? Hatu-
 15 rinhira raru: amima haga ani. Ani
 go ami rua go ma go djaga ani;
 mirohai raru la miama mitōk mega
 ami rua tonton mirohi onige: rohi
 loi eha, edja hahi, tui gañ solan la
 20 loi go, heo ami rua nean, amima hia

Calling the bees

In olden times Elder Garen, one of our ancestors, ordered his son and his sister's son to go and cut out a bees' nest. The two went to look for bees, but did not find any. Then they poured water into a bamboo vessel to make fun of their father. When they came back to their father, they said: just enjoy this honey! Their father took the bamboo vessel and emptied it into a plate; when he saw it was no honey, he threw that water away. Now Elder Garen was angry with his two sons and ordered his stone-spirits to go and look for the bee-spirits. They found the bee-spirits, named Tjahiwalu and Leowalu. The bee-spirits asked Elder Garen's stone-spirits: what have you come

1 ani ti ma mia la Nusan. Hahi go
 mamera tora amihahaga hahi meta.
 Aniupun go naru onigo la Laik
 Garen nihaturinhira mega haturin-
 5 hira rohai tapa la hiraama Laik
 Garen. Haturinhira tapa puhik la
 Laik Garen, Laik Garen heo ramutu
 ili Esulit ma rôhi loi eha nai ai,
 nipapan tau ma osan. Rohi puhik la
 10 rohik ailaran nai lua ma pasi la
 loiralan. Mega hutu hahi go, edja,
 totan, sesan la rana, tui gañ, tjahan
 puhik hoki la krau hahi noro gañ
 go la solan loiralan noro pua haitu,
 15 malu haitu, kur haitu tau la kaisaru
 la solan la loiralan go.

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Puhik Laik Garen go heo aniupun
 35 go onige: Tjahiwalu noro Leowalu,
 mi rua hia ma ani ma tepa la Nusan
 ge. Mi rua ma ra gañ ge noro hahi
 ge, mama pua ha'itu ge noro malu
 ha'itu ge noro moak kur ha'itu ge.
 40 Laik Garen tapa puhik onigo, ani
 ma mega tapu la luaailaran loi go.
 Ani go lama ailaran go. Anirinhira
 ra puhik, mega gañ noro hahi noro
 mama mega pua noro malu noro
 45 moak mega kur sasolan la loiralan,
 mega ito mamane mega hirama ra

for? The stone-spirits answered:
 we have come to look for bees.
 [The bee-spirits replied:] as to the
 bees, we two are the ones who take
 care of the bees; you go back and
 tell your father that you found us
 and that we instructed you to act
 thus: build a boat, kill a pig, cook
 rice, and put it in that boat, call out
 our names, then we shall make the
 bees go and stay on the Island.
 That pig should not be a red one,
 what we want is a black pig. When
 the bee-spirits had spoken thus to
 Elder Garen's stone-spirits, the
 stone-spirits went back and told
 their father Elder Garen. When the
 stone-spirits had told Elder Garen,
 Elder Garen called the people of
 Esulit together to build a boat of
 wood with boards of split bamboo.
 When it had been built, they
 brought a mast of kaju putih and
 set it up in the boat. After this they
 tied a pig and killed it, chopped it
 to pieces, and cooked it in a large
 jar, cooked rice and, when it was
 done, put the pork and the rice on
 plates, which were set out in the
 boat, and put seven pinang nuts,
 seven pieces of sirih, seven ciga-
 rettes in a sirih-bowl, which like-
 wise was placed in the boat.

Then Elder Garen called up the
 bee-spirits thus: Tjahiwalu and
 Leowalu, you two bring bees and
 make the Island swarm of them.
 You two come and eat this rice and
 this pork, chew these seven pinang
 nuts and these seven pieces of sirih
 and smoke these seven cigarettes.
 When Elder Garen had spoken
 thus, bees came and nestled on the
 kaju putih mast of the boat. Those
 bees stayed on that mast. When the
 bee-spirits had finished eating rice

1 hahi noro gañ sasolan la loiralan.
 Hahata ta ra gañ noro hahi go, pua
 noro malu. Ra puhik gañ noro hahi
 go, mama puhik pua noro malu, kur
 5 go nō notji ratan anitepun oni kola
 kola moak la nigo, puhik haga ani.
 Laik Garen go peo. Nimamate heo
 niana Materi, naru la Materi onige:
 ao ge mamate mega. Oni mimaheo
 10 ani, rohi onima aoohi go, heo
 aonean noro aniupun ninean. Aoro
 aniupun go ma, amihia noroma ani
 ma tapu la Nusan, amima ra no-
 roma hahi noro gañ noro pua noro
 15 malu noro kur misasolan la loi go.
 Pa Garen ton niana onigo puhik
 nimate. Amimahaheo ani ra krai
 moson rohi mega loi go, hia hahi
 noro gañ, malu noro pua noro kur
 20 amotjiheo ani oni Laik Garen taton
 go. Ton haruarua amiheo ani. Nai-
 mamuna ratan ami ge ami tananaun
 suren haheo ani go; oni amimasuren
 haheo ani amimamate.

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and pork and chewing pinang and
 sirih and smoking the cigarettes
 that had been laid out in the boat,
 then the men came and ate the pork
 and rice lying ready in the boat.
 The women did not eat that rice
 and pork, did not chew pinang and
 sirih. When the rice and pork had
 been eaten, the pinang and sirih
 had been chewed, the cigarettes
 were left alone until the bee-season,
 when they were taken to the places
 of the bees and smoked there, after
 which the bees were looked for.
 Elder Garen fell ill. When he was
 going to die, he called his son
 Materi and spoke to him thus: now
 I am going to die. When you
 people want to call the bees, act as
 I have done, call out my name and
 the bee-spirits' names. I shall come
 with the bee-spirits, we shall cause
 the bees to nestle on the Island, we
 shall eat pork and rice and chew
 pinang and sirih and smoke ciga-
 rettes that you people have laid out
 in the boat. After instructing his
 son thus father Garen died. When
 we want to call the bees, at the
 season of the new maize, we build
 the boat, and we bring pork and
 rice, sirih and pinang and cigarettes
 in order to call the bees according
 to Elder Garen's instructions.
 Every other year we call the bees.
 From olden times up to our days
 we have never neglected calling the
 bees; if we omitted calling the bees,
 we should die.

XIX

Laluli eha hahi hui

Taha krai nimamori metju oni tutu-
 krilukun, lalaikhira pasuk hopan
 45 ana'ili rohi raha eha la ilitenan tau

A taboo regarding boars

When the sown maize has grown
 up to the height of about a pigeon's
 leg, the village elders have a meet-

1 noro kanolen. Rohi raha noro kanolen puhik, lalaik hopan anahira la rohilihu. Hiratōk hahi hia ma tunu la kanolen sa'. Tunu puhik hok oni
 5 rahatutun. Anahira musan puhik here la ito iliralan. Sirak la taha mega reha. Taha puhik leo leo rohi masun ma lihu. Oni leo eha ta tōk hahi nigo ana eha nohi sala mega
 10 hala eha. Lalaikhira otjo nigo ramutu hene eha go heti iliralan onige: hari nohi sala hala leo eha ge ta tōk hahi ge? Nion to eha nohi sala mega hala eha, oni ana eha
 15 nohi sala la itoriun gai, tora pe suni gai ai la namon namon, tora suni gai pulahain tjoihala ai go namorin hiraraha, pula go namorin hirano. Ana eha nimanaru nohi sala hala
 20 eha rararu la ge, hia halik ma hahi eha, taha, tunu, rohi hahiaten hia la namo'upun otjo hahi aten go. Oni hahi aten go ta haun, taha halik ma eha, oni hahi aten go
 25 nimahaun, ta taha mega. Onimanigo musan hahi go here la iliralan. Panahuru la halik marohilihu tōk mega hahi. Leo leo masun mararohilihu. Oni ta tōk halik hahi, heti
 30 noro rohi onima mamuna go. Tjoi amilagun nai mega mumuna harak onige tanau here heti la to ili ili. Mama lage oni rara osuma lage, ta hia noro. Notji ratan krai geras, la
 35 rohik krai anan ha maseka la raha noro kanolen go. Etji namo'upun roro wanak: krai ge noro hahi utu ge manaloa mega onidjulu onidje. Mega hahi maedja halik oni to ili
 40 ili mama, here mega la hira, laluli ta mia mega. Amilagun eha hahi lalulin ta mia mega.

ing and order the people of the village to build a house in the centre of the village and also a roasting-place. When the house and the roasting-place have been built, the elders order the people to go hunting. When they catch a boar, they bring it and roast it in the roasting-place. After roasting it they take it up into the house. After cutting it up they divide it among the villagers. At daybreak they go to sow the rice. After sowing they keep going hunting every day. If, some day, they do not catch that boar, [this is a sign that] one of the villagers has done something wrong. When the elders see this, they assemble that same night and question the people of the village thus: who has done anything wrong today, that we did not catch the boar? It must be owing to somebody doing something wrong, for example somebody may have been doing wrong with somebody else's wife, or else he may have been burning trees in the gardens, or else he may have burnt some of the *pula* trees, [which is forbidden] because some of those trees are the earth-spirits' houses and others are the earth-spirits' coco-trees! If anybody confesses that he has sinned in any of the ways just mentioned, they once more bring a pig, kill it, roast it, take its liver to the village-chief to be inspected. If the liver is not good, another pig is killed, if the liver is good, they kill no more. After this the pig is cut up and distributed among the people of the village. At daybreak they go hunting again to catch a boar. They keep hunting every day. If it happens again that they do not get

a wild boar, there is the same questioning and acting as before. According to our custom from olden times up to the present we never distribute pork to the people of other villages. If they come here, they are allowed to eat here, but not to take the meat along. When the maize has become dry, they fetch a little maize and put it away in the house and in the roasting-place. Then the village-chief speaks [to the maize and the pork]: maize and pork, please go to the West and to the East! Then a pig is killed again, and if people of other villages come, it is distributed among them, because it is not taboo any longer. But at present our custom of the tabooed pig is not observed any more.

XX

Amilagun rarohi loi

- 1 Hau puhik tea lalaik pasuk heo
ramutu mamane iliralan. Ramutu
puhik tapa maleli loi. Eha eha naru
malaleli la me. Lalaikhira liu puhik
5 hirarohihere. Panahuru hirarohai
laleli loi. Puhik eha eha nohi ma
nienen. Hirarohi puhik lalaik heo
ramutu halik to ili raru joar tjono
mega loi loi go. Tapa puhik rohi-
10 here. Panahuru iliralan rohai tjono
muna eha notji loi loi go tjono
puhik ma ratan la tjahi. Pali puhik
la tjahiralan lalaik noro to aaru
ramutu halik. Raha eha hahi eha
15 notji ili ge raha hatelu hahi hatelu.
Hira hahata tui gañ, mamane edja
hahi go. Tunu, musan puhik ma-
mane magotui. Tjahan puhik gañ
noro hahi go mega hahi raha eha
20 enen ne la raha eha ma ra hahi go

Our custom with regard to boat-
building

After the gardens have been prepared, the village elders have a meeting and call the men of the village together. When they are assembled, they plan to make dug-outs. Each man tells where he intends to make his. When the elders have heard it, they separate. At daybreak they go inland to make boats. Then each man makes his own. When they have finished, the elders again call the villagers together and inform them those boats will be taken to the sea-shore on the following day. After making this arrangement they separate. At daybreak the people of the village go up and drag the boats down one after the other until all of them are on the beach. After putting them to

1 noro gañ, raha eha enen ne la raha
 eha ma ra. Raha hatelu go rohiselu
 hahi noro gañ go notji hirara puhik
 re loi puhik. Eha eha nohi ma
 5 nienen notji puhik loi loi go puhik
 haga meti. Tōk meti tui halik gañ
 la karutju noro tunu meti go.
 Tjahan puhik hia oni loikratja hira
 go heta karutju go. Puhik rohi gañ
 10 noro meti go anan eha tau la loitu-
 ras go. Mega to ra gañ go noro
 meti go puhik mega tjono loi la
 tjahiralan pali. Puhik to eha eha
 lete ma niene notji leo ralan halima,
 15 hean haik, re loi loi go oni ra. Mega
 rohihere.

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Rohihahoa

To eha magotia leo mama gole otjo
 ana go hahata, mamane tahahoa
 eha muna kero. Kero tau enu tora
 40 pirak la lukun. Ana go ninanau na,
 mamane nirium go ne gañ noro
 knohi rotjitjetje ana go. Notji ana go
 air, ne osa. Osa osa go talo eha, opi
 hatelu noro te lolon haak ne la
 45 hahata ina ama. Ina ama palas enu-

anchor in the sea the elders and the
 village population assemble again.
 Each lineage [brings] one pig so
 that the three lineages of this vil-
 lage [bring] three pigs. The women
 cook rice, the men kill those pigs.
 After roasting and cutting up [the
 pigs] it is the men who cook the
 meat. After cooking the rice and
 the pork one of the lineages gives
 its own part to another lineage to
 eat that pork and rice, and the latter
 lineage again gives its own part to
 the third lineage to eat. So the three
 lineages exchange their pork and
 rice until they have eaten it up and
 then all the boats are hauled ashore.
 Each man finishes his own; when
 all the boats have been finished,
 they fish. After catching fish they
 again cook rice in a bamboo vessel
 and roast the fish. When it is done,
 they take it to the platforms of the
 boats and cleave the bamboos.
 Then they take a little rice and a
 little fish and lay it down on the
 prows of the boats. Then the men
 eat the rice and the fish and, when
 they have finished, drag the boats
 into the sea and put them to anchor.
 After this each man runs five times
 round his own boat and rows it to
 the land, after which the boats are
 hauled ashore. Then they separate.

XXI

Marriage

When a woman is pregnant and
 the time of her confinement has
 come and the child is seen to be
 a girl, some unmarried man imme-
 diately distrains her. He distrains
 her by means of beads or copper
 anklets. When the child is able to
 eat, her husband gives rice and
 sarung-cloth to provide for the

1 rare eha, laun hatelu. Palas puhik
 surin hahata la riun mamane go.
 Hahata go lama la niriun heren ton
 halima eha. Hahata noro niriun la
 5 oni ina ama heren rohi tea lanigo.
 Rohi tea la ina ama ratan ton harua.
 Mamane go ina ama noro lalaikhira
 ramutu uku osa noro hahi: hahi
 eha, talo eha, opi haak, te lolon
 10 hanen, hia la hahata ina ama heren
 ne osa go la hira. Taha hahi go ne
 la ina ama; mamane iton ta roro
 kosa hahi go. Onigo hahata go ina
 ama uku osa onige: osa ulun eha,
 15 laun haak, enurare eha, lipa hanen
 natja tea sa', noro hahi eha. Ma-
 mane go niton ma kosa hahi go.
 Rohi onigo puhik ina ama huta
 hahata go tau enu, pirak, kalaha
 20 noro haru, lahar, laun tau la kini.
 Huta puhik surin la mamane go
 noro nitonhira heren. Ma mega la
 hira'ilin. Oni hahoa la iliralan, oni
 tjoï hahoa la ili eha. Onigo puhik
 25 hahata go noro niriun ta la rarú
 mega la ina ama hiraenen noro osa
 puhik mega lanigo. Onimanigo.

child. When the child is big, he
 gives property. That property [con-
 sists of] one gong, three cutlasses,
 and four spears, which he gives to
 the girl's mother and father. In
 return the mother and father give
 one ancient bead and three ear-
 pendants. After this exchange they
 give the girl to the husband. The
 girl stays at her husband's for
 about five years. Then the girl and
 her husband go to her mother and
 father's house to work in the
 garden there. They till the garden
 for the mother and father for two
 years. Then the man's parents and
 the village elders assemble to collect
 property and a pig: one pig, one
 gong, four cutlasses, six spears are
 taken to the girl's parents house
 and that property is given to them.
 The pig is killed and given to the
 parents; the man's people do not
 join in the eating of that pig. The
 girl's parents also collect property,
 namely: one head-cloth, four ear-
 pendants, one ancient bead, six
 pieces of cloth conformably to the
 [number of] spears just mentioned,
 and one pig. The man's people will
 eat that pig. After doing this the
 girl's mother and father give her
 a wedding-outfit consisting of
 beads, anklets, combs, cloth and
 kebaja's, sarung's, and ear-pen-
 dants. When she has received this
 outfit, the girl is given over to the
 man and his people. Then they go
 to their village. In the same way as
 people marry in their own village,
 they also marry in another village.
 When all this has been done, the
 woman and her husband do not go
 to the parents' village any more and
 the [exchange of] property is also
 finished. So it is.

XXII

Rohisoro

Visiting each other

- 1 Oni hahata Erai eha la hoa la
Napar, nimatoar niina la Erai, nino-
roma nitjurushira aaru. Hirama
ratan la ge, ina noro nitjurushira
5 koi reha la hopo eha ne la ito eha
notji natjama tohira raroro ana go
ma. Ne reha go la hira ma pai rohi
ehen. Mega eha eha no nienen.
Mega niina noro nitjurushira koi
10 halik reha la hopo harua noro tai
krai la hopo kahan rahua go. Onigo
natjama ito hira roro ana go ma.
Onigo puhik ina go noro nitjurus-
hira rohi katjuak, ligu eha eha nat-
15 jama hira go sa'. Sirak panahuru
hiramagagain, ana go noro nitjurus-
hira hia osa pinan noro te. Osa go
tau la krau eha no la niina noro
nitjurushira. No osa puhik, hiratean
20 mega hiragain oni hira'ili. Amilagun
eha ge oni ina go noro nitjurushira
ma la otjo niana go la Napar nila-
gun onimanigo.

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When an Erai woman who has gone to marry in Napar wants to visit her mother in Erai, she comes together with all her friends. When they arrive here, the mother and her friends fill a basket with unthreshed rice and give it to one person [and keep doing so] until there is enough for all the women who accompany the daughter. That rice is given to them to be threshed. Then each of them keeps hers. Then again the mother and her friends fill two baskets with unthreshed rice and cover the mouths of the two baskets with maize. So [they keep doing] until there is enough for those who accompany the daughter. After this the mother and her friends make ketupat and tie them, one for each of those people. The following morning at dawn when they are going to leave, the daughter and her friends bring property, namely pieces of cloth and spears. Each piece of cloth is laid on a plate and left with the mother and her friends. After the property has been left, they take leave and go off to their village. When the mother and her friends pay a visit to her daughter at Napar the same custom will be observed.

XXIII

Ito rarohi lemusan la itoriun

Having an affair with another man's wife

- 40 Mamane eha nimakarak ito eha
riun, nine muna naho pua noro malu

When a man is in love with another man's wife, he first of all

- 1 hahata go. Nimateha pua noro malu
go, hira rua rohikarak mega. Ha-
hata go ta teha pua noro malu go,
hira rua ta rohikarak. Hahata go
5 niteha malu noro pua onigo hira rua
rohiton mega ma rapu hene eha go.
Hirarapu puhik panahuru hahata
go tapa mega la nitjurus. Tapa
puhik la nitjurus, nitjurus la tapa
10 halik lalaik ili. Mega lalaik ili la
tapa halik lanohi lemusan go la
niriun. Niriun liu ni go garak.
Mega lalaik heo ramutu to ili noro
ito eha lanohi lemusan go, noro
15 nitjurushira ukun mega osa: opi eha
noro kolin reo harua, reo eha tau
la pas kaehan, reo eha tau la kaeha.
Hia noro opi go ito tjatjam la niriun
hahata go. Niriun teha osa go,
20 lalaik eha nohik reha ihin hopu la
mamane go noro niriun noro ma-
mane eha nanohi lemusan. Ra puhik
reha'ihin go lalaik go naru: sarohi-
patjak rarú; mimarohipatjak halik,
25 mimakrotja; tarohipatjak mega go
ta nohi hala eha. Onimanigo lalaik-
hira ukun halik ma hahi eha, hutu,
taha hahi go, rohik rara, hok oni
djela tapa onigo: amirohi mega li
30 eha ge; sarohipatjak rarú mega;
mimarohipatjak halik, hahirara ge
ma tetek miluku milima, mima-
krotja. Tapa onigo puhik tunu hahi
go. Iliralan ra tjatjas puhik rohi-
35 here.

offers pinang and sirih to that woman. If she accepts that pinang and sirih, they are in love with each other. If the woman does not accept the pinang and sirih, there is no mutual love. If the woman accepts the sirih and pinang, they agree to sleep together that same night. After they have slept together, early in the morning, the woman tells it to her friend. After having been told, the friend goes and tells it to the village elders. The village elders again tell it to the husband of the woman who is having the affair. When her husband hears it, he is angry. Then the village elders convene a meeting of the villagers and the man who is having the affair, and his friends collect property, namely: one cutlass and two fathoms of striped cloth, one fathom being laid on one shoulder and one fathom on the other shoulder [of the woman]. While she is carrying that cutlass, people lead the woman to her husband. Her husband accepts that property and one of the village elders takes some rice and puts it into the mouths of the husband, his wife and the other man, who has had the affair. When they have eaten that rice, the elder says: do not do wrong any more; if you do wrong again, you will be paralysed; if you don't sin [again], this [what has happened now] doesn't matter. After this the village elders have a pig brought, that pig is tied and killed, they take some of its blood and, lifting it up, speak thus: we have settled this affair; don't sin any more; if you sin again, this pig's blood will cut your

- 1 Oni hira rua raro hi lemusan go ma rohihoa, hira rua rapu. Sirak hahata go la tapa nitjurus puhik hira rua lari la hun. Nitjurus go la tapa
- 5 lalaik naru hahata go noro mamane go lari mega oni hun. Onimanigo lalaik ramutu to iliralan hopan ito eha la heo hahata noro mamane lalari go. To lala heo go tōk hira
- 10 rua, hia hira rua ma oni ili. Hira rua ratan la ili lalaik pasuk heti hira rua ma rohihoa te tora. Hira rua raru ma rohihoa, ukun halik ma osa tjoi ma hahata go niheliñ go, puhik
- 15 hia la oni niriun mamane go heren. Mamane go teha osa go, puhik taha hahi eha, tunu, rohiik aten ne la lalaik otjo atēñ go. Nimaradja go, ta edja mega hahi; atēñ go nima
- 20 tahaun, ma edja halik ma hahi eha notjima hahiatēñ go nimahaun mega ta taha rarū mega hahi. Onimanigo hira rua rohihoa. Lalaik pasuk halik haga halik hahata eha
- 25 ne la mamane eha niriun ito hahoa mega go. Mamane go ne halik ma osa la ina ama tjoi halik ma lagu ito raro hihoa ha herun.

feet and your hands, you will be paralysed. After they have spoken thus, the pig is roasted. The people of the village eat together and then they separate.

When the two people who are having an intrigue want to marry, they sleep together. At daybreak the woman informs her friend and then the couple flees into the forest. That friend of hers informs the village elders that that woman and that man have run away into the forest. Now the village elders call the people of the village together and send a man to summon the woman and the man who have run away. When the man who goes to call them finds them, he takes them to the village. When the couple arrives at the village, the elders meet in council and ask the couple whether they want to marry or not. If the two say that they want to marry, property is collected again equivalent to the marriage-gift paid for the woman and then it is taken to the man who was her husband. The husband accepts this property and then a pig is killed and roasted and its liver is shown to the village elders. If it is good, no more pigs are killed; if the liver is not good, they will kill another pig [and so on] until the pig's liver is good, when they will not kill pigs any longer. After all this has been done, the two marry. The village elders meet in council and look for another woman to be given to the man whose wife married the other man. That man again gives property to [the woman's] mother and father according to the custom for people who are marrying for the first time.

XXIV

Oni gagole

- 1 Oni ito eha nikapun mamapeu, heo hahata eha ma pasuk la hahata kapun papeo gole niliu tera la nihuan la nikapun notji ana go gole.
- 5 Ana go gole muna nikuaire namuri. Hahata go ihin gole rohi soti eha rohi sulupia rotji oso kusatalin. Niklaka go tau la hopo eha. Mega ito eha leo eha go la senak la ai.
- 10 Ito lala senak kuair go ma halik, inañ go turusō la rare pasuk la aiklotun eha. Mega ito tjua ai, rohi knohi raun eha, no la aimorin rodjisahi nikapun. Sahi puhik ninahai la
- 15 rihuk nilole pa nikapun la rihuk go, tjua aimorin nai orañ. Mega ana go turu tañ la niina heren. Leo leo tjua ma aimorin la rihuk lēn go notji ratan hene halima rara go mea
- 20 panahuru anan halik nohai la raha djela. Nai niala la rihuk go nina mehama latinēr. Ninohai mega oni raha djela nina mega gañ rerera. Hahata go nila mega raha djela,
- 25 ninaloa onimeme go haun mega notji ana go air.

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Childbirth

When somebody's belly begins to ache, she calls another woman, who sits down behind the woman in labour and massages her body between breast and belly until the child is born. The child is born first and then the afterbirth follows. After the woman's body has been delivered, people take a piece of bamboo and make it sharp to cut the navel-string. The afterbirth is put into a basket. Then that same day somebody goes and puts it in a tree. When the man who has gone to deposit the afterbirth has come back, the mother descends to the ground and sits down on a piece of wood. Then people light a fire, take a piece of worn cloth, and warm it at the fire to massage her belly with it. After the massage she climbs on a bench and lies down on her belly on that bench, a fire being lighted underneath. Then the child is also put near the mother. The fire is kept burning continually under the bench until, on the fifth day, the blood has coagulated and she returns to the house at dawn. While she is staying on the bench, she eats liquid food only. After climbing up to the house she eats solid food again. The woman may safely stay in the house or go out wherever she likes to until the child is big.

XXV

Hadjak ito mamate

- 40 Ito raha eha mamate hahata tora mamane nires go puhik niton raha go hahata mamane kua. Oni ili eha

Death customs

When a member of a certain lineage, a woman or a man, dies, and he has breathed his last, his

- 1 go raha telu, raha harua go ta la
 roro kua; raha rua go ukun osa
 kolen reo haak. Ito raha rua go
 hahata noro mamane hia kolen go
 5 la raha eha ito mamate go roro kua
 ma hira. Kua puhik kopo ate mate
 go tau osa muna natji pitin nalaliu.
 Kopa puhik pai reha anan eha tau
 la hopo anan eha noro pua noro
 10 malu noro tabaku tau la nilatjon.
 Puhik hala hala ge nimahia nohi
 nalun. Onigo roro ata mate go sa'
 oni matenō noroma nigañ go. Ratan
 la ata matenō natji kale rare. Puhik
 15 sop ata mate go ru rare. Ru rare
 pūhik lutu hatu go puhik erik reha
 go noro pua noro malu noro tabaku
 erik la ata mate klutu djela go nō
 noro hopo latji lanigo hirama la ili.
 20 Hahia ata mate go la matenō go
 mamane pesik, hahata kua ma la
 raha noro tui noro gañ ito la tamon
 ata mate go. Ratan la ili hatahata
 go hoki gañ solan la raha ata mate
 25 go noro hoki ata mate enen la taku-
 ruk solan la hiraliu. Mega hira lala
 tamon ata mate sa' heo ata mate go
 raru: makara mega gañ go. Heo
 onigo puhik hirara mega gañ go.
 30 Ra puhik hirahua katahe go mega
 hirapiri.

female and male relatives of that lineage wail. When there are three lineages in the village, the other two lineages do not join in the wailing; those two lineages collect property, namely four fathoms of foreign cloth. The people of those two lineages, women and men, take that cloth to the house of the deceased and wail together with them. After the wailing the deceased is shrouded first in cloth and next in mats. After shrouding him they pound a little rice, put it in a small basket, and put pinang, sirih, and tobacco in his sirih-bag. When this has been done, the deceased will take these things with him as provisions. After this they take that deceased and his food to the burying-place. On arriving at the burying-place they dig a grave. After this they let down the corpse and fill up the grave. After filling up the grave they lay stones all round and then they strew rice and pinang and sirih and tobacco on the grave of the deceased and leave the basket and the sirih-bag there, after which they return to the village. The persons who take the deceased to the burying-place are men only, the women are wailing in the house and cook food for the men who have gone to bury the deceased. When they arrive at the village, the women pour out cooked rice and set it out in the house of the deceased, pouring the latter's share in a coconut shell, which is put behind the men [who are eating]. Then the men who have buried the deceased call out to him: come, let us eat this rice! After calling out thus they eat the rice. After eating they take up the sieves and rise.

- 1 Ata mate enen go lama rare go
natji asu na tjtjoan. Hirakua oni-
manigo hene hene leo leo notji
ratan hene haak lalaikhira pasuk
5 ukun hahi eha, hia la ata mate raha
go, taha hahi go, tunu; puhik musan
hahi go, puhik rohik anan eha tupi
nō lanigo, hoki gañ la ata mate go
nikrau, solan hahi la nikrau go.
10 Hiraraha go nitjurushira eha eha
hia nikrai, reha, hamitjai, hilu hia
ma la sala'un. To aaru nai rahahira
go hia reha la katahen, eha eha hia
ma nienen ma erik la sala'un.
15 Nirium hia ma ate mate nigañ la
krau go noro nihahi tatupi ko tema
ma krau go noro gañ reha noro
hala hala go lama sala'un go. Mega
hira go rahai mega oni raha ata
20 mate. Mega tui gañ noro hahi.
Tjahan puhik hoki hahi noro gañ
la krau krau, heo tohira tatamon
ata mate go solan hirara. Hira go
ra puhik natji ito aaru ra. Hirara
25 puhik hahata hahata nai raha seluk
ma la sala'un, rohik reha noro krai
noro hala hala go aerik sala'un go
hia ma la hiraraha. Henen hirarapu,
panahuru to laik eha untali tunu
30 osapinen eha noro orun onige: ami
ge amipiri mega nai raha ge, osapau
ami onhala amipiri mega. Ninaru
puhik to aaru go rohihere mega oni
hiraraha.

The deceased's share remains lying on the ground until it is eaten by the dogs. The people who wail keep doing so every night and every day until, when the fourth night has come, the village elders meet in council, order a pig, take it to the deceased's house, kill that pig, have it roasted; then the pig is cut to pieces, a little of it is taken and tied up and put away there, rice is poured out on the deceased's plate, pork is put on his plate. Each member of his lineage then brings his [offering of] maize, rice, sweet potatoes, cassave and takes it to a road-eye. The people of the other lineages bring rice in sieves, each takes his and pours it out on the road-eye. The deceased's husband or wife takes the deceased's plate with rice and the pork that have been tied up together throws the plate with its contents to pieces, and leaves it there. Then they ascend to the house of the deceased. Now rice and pig are cooked. When they are done, the pork and the rice are put on plates, the men who have buried the deceased are invited to eat. After they have eaten, the other people eat. After these have eaten, the women of the other lineages go to the road-eye, take up the rice and the maize and other things that have been thrown down there, and take it home. When it is night, they go to sleep, and early in the morning one of the elders belonging to the lineage of the deceased burns a piece of cloth with these words: we here, we depart from this house, don't you make us ill because we have departed! After this has been said, the people separate and go home.

IV

GRAMMATICAL NOTES

I ORTHOGRAPHY

As my stay at Erai has been too short for me to acquire such familiarity with the sound-system as would be necessary for a description of any scientific value, I shall confine myself to indicating the meaning of the diacritical signs used. In general, however, it may be stated that the pronunciation of vowels, consonants and diphthongs is about the same as in Malay and several other Indonesian languages.

ē: long e-sound; whether it is more open or more closed chiefly depends on the following consonant.

ō: long o-sound; open or closed as e.

': apostrophe between two vowels indicating that they are to be pronounced separately; so it indicates a weak glottal stop: o'apu, o'erak. At the end of a word it indicates a stronger glottal stop: sa'.

ⁿ: behind a vowel, used when the following n is very weakly pronounced: hauⁿ, haun.

ʳ: behind a vowel, indicates a very weak r: loʳ, lor.

ñ: guttural n, as ng in English *wing*.

': accent. As in many Indonesian languages the expiratory word-accent is rather weak and often variable. In a few cases, however, difference of accentuation indicates difference of meaning, e.g. *raru* (they say), *raru'* (further, again).

II WORD-FORMATION

§ 1. *General type of word-stems.*

In so far as our fragmentary materials admit of any statement at all it would seem that there is a certain preference for dissyllabic stems ending in a vowel. About two thirds of the endings of verb-stems are vocalic. With the substantive-stems about half of the endings are vocalic, but about two thirds of the other half end in *-n*, which consonant, especially with substantive-stems, is often facultative. We get the impression, indeed, that any substantive-stem ending in a vowel may take on a final *-n* whereas, conversely, any substantive-stem ending in *-n* may drop it. Examples: *aimori(n)* — fire; *ama(n)* — father; *ani(n)* — wind; *ape(n)* — cheek; *apore(n)* — spittle; *apu(n)* — a man's sister's son; *ate(ñ)* — liver; *ehe(n)* — contents, body, rice; *hana(n)* — branch; *hene(n)* — night;

hulu(n) — hair, feather; *ili(n)* — village; *ina(n)* — mother; *ito(n)* — human being; *kasarea(n)* — white ant; *katahe(n)* — winnow; *kuru(n)* — head; *lati(n)* — mash, porridge; *lau(n)* — silver, gold; *lete(n)* — mountain; *li(n)* — voice; *luku(n)* — leg; *masi(n)* — salt; *mata(n)* — eye; *palu(n)* — provisions; *namo(n)* — earth, field; *nara(n)* — man's sister, woman's brother; *nusa(n)* — island; *osa(n)* — split bamboo; *rara(n)* — blood; *sala(n)* — road; *tjahi(n)* — sea; *ulu(n)* — mountain; *wati(n)* — dwelling-place.

Other end-consonants may also be facultative, e.g. *kawai(r)* — after-birth; *lega(r)* — top (of mountain, tree etc.); *lo(r)* — sea; *lupu(r)* — bark-cloth; *kratja(k)* — platform in a boat; *upa(k)* — medicine.

With verb-stems facultative end-consonants are much less frequent. A few examples: *gai(n)* — depart, start; *suri(n)* — give, give up, throw away; *turu(n)* — descend; *uku(n)* — collect; *pasu(k)* — sit, meet in council; *teri(k)* — cut off, intercept; *teta(k)* — cut through; *lihu(r)* — hunt; *tjaka(s)* — cross (e.g. a river).

It would seem that consonantic endings are sometimes made vocalic by adding a facultative vowel, e.g. *ahuk(u)* — open, wake, watch; *tamon(i)* — bury; *hon(o)* — smell, stench; *Solok(o)* — Solor people.

Monosyllables and words of more than two syllables are in the minority by far. It seems probable that all of the latter are either compounds (or derivatives) or foreign loan-words. As regards the former it should be noted that a number of the most common substantive and verb-stems belong to this category, e.g. *ai* — fire; *ai* — wood; *ēr* — water; *gañ* — vegetable food; *hun* — forest; *krai* — maize; *krau* — plate, bowl; *lau(n)* — gold, silver; *le* — gourd, calabash; *lir* — voice, language; *loi* — boat; *lok* — friend; *lo(r)* — sea; *mu* — banana-tree; *nañ* — tongue; *nes* — tooth; *no* — coco (tree); *pas* — shoulder; *paun* — ancestor, ancestress; *pēn* — grandchild; *poi* — glowing charcoal; *ra* — land; *rin* — lord, master; *ron* — leaf; *si* — shellfish; *te* — excrements; *ton* — year; *tu* — star; *un* — tree; *us* — red pepper; *wa* — dew; *djōk* — hide; *gui* — scold, abuse; *hai* — climb, ascend; *hañ* — sell; *hau* — till the ground; *hok* — take up; *huk* — come out, appear; *ke* — pick up; *ko* — throw to pieces; *ku* — steal; *la* — go etc.; *laik* — jump down; *loi* — open, undo; *ma* — come; *na* — eat; *ne* — give; *nō* — leave behind, give up etc.; *pai* — pound, thrash; *pas* — strike (with the hand); *pau* — molest, torment; *pek* — defecate; *ru* — lay down, put down; *sai* — peel; *si* — tie, fasten; *sō* — descend; *soi* — draw (water); *tau* — break up, depart; *te* — throw, prick; *ti* — go away; *tjoi* — follow; *toi* — cook; *ton* — make an arrangement; *tur* — stay; *wēn* — melt. Specialists in the domain of Indonesian comparative philology will no doubt recognize most of these as former dissyllabic stems.

§ 2. Nominal compounds.

As a rule possessive compounds consist of two substantives, the possessor, c.q. the determinative noun, preceding. Examples: *ai-hana(n)* —

wood (tree)-branch; *gai-lati(n)* — rice-milk; *hahi-tjoñ* — pigsty; *halu-lukun* — trousers (lit. widower's-legs); *hatu-rin* — master of stones, stone-spirit; *ili-ralan* — village-population (lit. village-contents); *krai-upun* — maize-spirit; *latin-ër* — liquid food (lit. milk-water); *kuru(n)-ron* — head-hair; *susu-ër* — milk (lit. breast-water); *tutukri-lukun* — pigeon's leg.

Some compounds in which the determinative word, contrary to the rule, does not precede, are perhaps literal translations from Malay, e.g. *ana-ili* — village-population (cp. Mal. *anak negeri*); *enu-rare* — „aggri”-beads (cp. Amb. Mal. *mutitana*, Mal. *mutia tanah* — „aggri”-beads, lit. ground-beads); *hahi-hui* — wild boar (cp. Mal. *babi hutan*); *ili-tjahi* — government-village, sea-village (cp. Mal. *negeri kompeni*, *negeri pantai* i.e. official village, built near the sea-shore by order of the government); *to-ili* — village-population (cp. Mal. *orang negeri*).

There are compounds consisting of reduplicated substantives or adjectives and differing in meaning from the component words, e.g. *ani-ani(n)* — rumour (*anin* — wind); *ana mera-mera(s)* — very small children (*meras* — red).

§ 3. Nominal derivation by means of pre- and suffixes.

Adjective or adjective-substantive stems are often preceded by the prefix *a-* (when they begin with a vowel) or initial consonant + *a* (when they begin with a consonant). This prefix may be translated with: who is..., being...; in many cases its function is to emphasize. Examples: *aair* (from *air* — big); *aaru* (from *aru* — much, many, long); *hahau(n)* (from *haun* — good); *laluli(n)* (from *lulin* — sacred, taboo); *laliu* (from *liu* — back, backpart); *mamusun* (from *musun* — empty); *mamera* (from *mera* — red); *mametju* (from *metju* — high, long); *papehur* (from *pehur* — satiated); *papuñi* (from *puti* — white); *papeu* (from *peu* — ill, cp. the curious formations *mamau* — sick man, *pipui* — sick woman; about *ma-* and *pi-* in proper names see Voc.); *raradja* (from *radja* — good). It would seem that in most cases forms with or without prefix may be used at will. Occasionally the latter are apparently becoming obsolete, e.g. *musun* — empty (more common: *mamusun*); *laik* — old, old man (more common: *lalaik*); *mane* — male, man (more common: *mamane*); *hata* — female, woman (more common: *hahata*).

The prefix may also be used with substantives to express: possessing, being provided with, e.g. *haheli* — valuable, rich (from *heli* — property, valuable things); *nanean* — named (from *nean* — name).

About verb-stems with this prefix which may function as *nomina agentis* or *instrumenti* see § 29.

One gets the impression from the vocabulary that there are (or have been) several noun-prefixes, which, however, our scanty materials do not enable us to identify at present. It seems dubious whether there are also nominal derivations by means of suffixes. The circumstance that final vowels or consonants are often used or omitted arbitrarily makes it very

difficult — in the present state of our knowledge at least — to recognize real suffixes.

§ 4. *Verbal compounds and derivatives.*

Acts are not seldom expressed by a combination of two verb-stems, in which case we may speak of a verbal compound. A few examples: *hahasō* — carry down (*haha* — carry, *sō* — go down); *hiama* — bring (*hia* — take, *ma* — come); *lamohik* — fetch (*la* — go, *ohik* — take); *lanō* — leave behind (*la* — go, *nō* — lay down, give up). Sometimes the compound consists of two synonyms, e.g. *turusō* — descend (*turu* and *sō* being synonyms).

There are a few particles which may with some probability be looked upon as verbal prefixes. In the first place *a-* may frequently be prefixed to a verb or omitted without change of meaning, e.g. (*a*)*hai* — ascend; (*a*)*la* — go; (*a*)*sō* — descend. In other cases, however, there is a difference in meaning between the two forms, e.g. *ahok* — agree with (*hok* — take up); *ahuk(u)* — open, wake, watch (*huku* — come out, appear). By means of *a-* may also be formed verb-stems from nouns, e.g. *ahaun* from *haun* — good, healthy, peace, safe, safety; *rohirahaun* — they make peace (see also § 21, 24). Another verbal prefix may be *aka-* in *akadjoka* — terrified; *akamohun* — healthy, safe; *akatjohi* — cripple, limping; *akatjari* — belch; *akawari* — play, feast. It is also possible that this *aka-* itself consists of two prefixes: *a-* and *ka-*. See also § 22. About *mago-* see § 23.

§ 5. *Foreign words.*

As might be expected, most foreign words which are recognizable at present have been borrowed directly from Malay. Examples: *anakotja* — captain, master of craft (Mal. *anakoda*); *balak* (in *rahabalak* — roof-beam) (Amb. Mal. *balak*, Holl. *balk*); *banku* — bench (Mal. *banku*, Holl. *bank*); *djaga* — watch etc. (Mal. *djaga* — awake, wake up, watch etc.); *djenela* — window (Amb. Mal. *djanela*, Mal. *djendela* (from Portug.); *deus* — ancestor-figure (indir. from Latin); *djenda* — fine, penalsum (Mal. *denda*); *hadjak* — custom (Mal. *adat*); *kakapu* — capoc (Mal. *kabu-kabu*); *kamar* — small room (Mal. *kamar*, Holl. *kamer*); *karia* — work (Mal. *kerdja*); *karima* — something sent to somebody, message (Mal. *kiriman*); *karkara* — trouble, affair, in particular: adultery (Mal. *perkara*); *kasian* — poor, pitiable (Mal. *kasihan*); *katjuak* — lump of steamed rice etc. in plaited cover (Mal. *ketupat*?); *kerpau* (Mal. *kerbau*); *kuali* — frying-pan (Mal. *kuali*); *lagu* — custom, behaviour, sort, nature (Mal. *laku* — manner, behaviour etc., *lagu* — tune, melody); *lipa* — imported cotton cloth, striped or checkered (Mal. *lipat* — fold?); *lodjan* — large plate, bowl (Mal. *lojang* — brass, in some local Mal. dialects also: wash-basin); *peloro* (in *peloro anan* — bullet) (Mal. *peluru* — bullet); *susa* — trouble (any kind) (Mal. *susah*); *tabaku* — tobacco (from Mal. *tembakau* or perhaps directly from Holl. *tabak*); *toko* — trader, shop (Mal. *toko* — shop); *tukan* — technical expert (Mal. *tukang*); *tuna*, eel (Mal. *tuna*).

III FLEXION OF NOUNS

§ 6. *Plurality.*

The plural of substantives may be expressed by: a. full or partial reduplication; b. the adjective (*te*)*tema*, *tematema* — all, complete; c. (of substantives indicating persons or, perhaps, living beings) the personal pronoun 3d pers. plur. *hira*, which in this case is used as a pronominal pre- or suffix. As in other Indonesian languages, plurality of substantives need not be expressed by grammatical means whenever it is evident from the context, from an accompanying adjective or from the verbal form (see § 21). Examples: house — *raha*; houses — *raha raha*, *raha (te)tema*, *raha tema tema*; child — *ana(n)*; children — *ana ana(n)*, *anana(n)*, *ana(n) tema* etc., *hira'ana(n)*, *anahira*; old man of standing — *lalaik*; old men — *laik lalaik*, *hiralalaik*, *lalaikhira* etc.; little child — *ana meras*; little children — *hira'anameras*, *anamershira* etc.; man — *mamane*; men — *mamanemane* etc.; woman — *hahata*; women — *hahatahata* etc. Occasionally the suffix *-hira* is added to a reduplicated substantive, e.g. *iton-itonhira* — the people, the men (*iton* — human being). *Hira* as indicator of the plural is by preference used as suffix; the reason is no doubt that as prefix it may also have possessive value (see § 7). It should be noted that reduplication of substantives is also used for other purposes, e.g. *hene hene* — every night; *leo leo* — every day (see also § 2).

§ 7. *Possession.*

The person of the possessor is usually indicated by means of the pronominal prefixes *ao-*, *o-*, *ni-*, *ami-* (exclusive), *ita-* (inclusive), *mi-*, *hira-*. These prefixes are unchangeable. Examples: *raha* — house; possessive flexion: *aoraha*, *oraha*, *niraha*, *amiraha*, *itaraha*, *miraha*, *hiraraha*; *ana(n)* — child; *ao'ana(n)*, *o'ana(n)*, *ni'ana(n)*, *ami'ana(n)*, *ita'ana(n)*, *mi'ana(n)*, *hira'ana(n)*. When the person of the possessor is to be indicated with some emphasis, the pronominal prefix is followed by *ene(n)* — property, ownership, whereas the substantive indicating the possessed object may precede or follow this construction, e.g. *ao'enenraha*, *raha'ao'enen* — my house; *o'enenraha*, *raha'o'enen* — your house etc. The combination of possessive-prefix and *enen* may also be used to express: belongs to, e.g. *raha ge* (this) *ao'ene(n)* — this house belongs to me. *Ene(n)* is also used after an interrogative pronoun inquiring after the possessor, e.g. *raha ge hari'enen* — to whom does this house belong, whose house is this. When the number of possessors is mentioned, the numeral immediately follows the possessive prefix, e.g. *amiruanean* — our (two people, excl.) names; *hiraru'ina* — their (two people) mother; *itarua'ene(n)ina* — our (two people, incl.) mother. The numeral indicating the number of objects or persons possessed always follows last, e.g. *o'apuharua* — your two nephews (sister's sons). When the possessor is mentioned by name or is indicated by a substantive, the object or person possessed may or may not

be preceded by *ene(n)* and (or) by the pronominal prefix. Examples: *Galigau hira go limakrakon* — the Alorese people's fingers; *Laik Naga (ni)sarin* — Laik Naga's debt; *Maganu (ni)raha* — Maganu's house; *amipaun (ni)ana(n)* — our ancestor's child; *anakotja go (ni)ana(n)* — the captain's child; *nialin raha, nialin niraha, nialin enen raha* — his younger brother's house.

§ 8. Case relations.

The vocative may take an additional vowel at the end, e.g. *namorino!* — earth-spirits! (from *namorin*). Most probably, however, this is an exclamatory addition and not a real case-ending. Other case relations are not expressed by means of changes of form. Occasionally the patiens is preceded by the particle *ma*, which, however, is quite superfluous and, indeed, is usually omitted, e.g. *eha eha nohi ma nienen* — each makes his own (80. 6); *rohik halik ma aten hia la namo'upun* — they again take the liver to the village-chief (70. 11); *eha eha hia ma nigañ* — each (of the women) brings her rice (70. 17); *to iliralan la ra halik ma gañ noro hahi* — the people of the village come again (and) eat the rice and pork (70. 21). See also § 23, § 31.

§ 9. Degrees of comparison.

Both the comparative and the superlative degree may be expressed by means of *(n)(a)aru lik* — more, longer, very, much, most, e.g. *pe nienen naaru lik* — but hers was longer (longest, viz. hair); the object surpassed is mentioned or referred to at the end, e.g. *pe naaru lik hirago enen* — but it was longer than theirs.

IV NUMERALS

§ 10. Cardinal and ordinal numbers.

The cardinal numbers are: one — *eha*; two — *(ha)rua*; three — *(ha)telu*; four — *(ha)ak*; five — *(ha)lima*; six — *(ha)ne(n)*; seven — *(ha)itu*; eight — *(ha)kau*; nine — *(ha)sia*; ten — *sanulu*; eleven — *hela eha isin eha*; twelve — *hela eha isin harua*; thirteen — *hela eha isin hatelu* etc.; twenty — *hela rua*; twenty-one — *hela rua isin eha*; twenty-two — *hela rua isin harua*; etc.; thirty — *hela telu*; forty — *hela ak*; fifty — *hela lima*; sixty — *hela ne*; seventy — *hela itu*; eighty — *hela kau*; ninety — *hela sia*; hundred — *atus eha*; one hundred and one — *atus eha isin eha* etc.; two hundred — *atus harua*; three hundred — *atus hatelu* etc.; thousand — *rihun eha* etc.

Ordinal numbers: first — *mamuna*; second — *harua*; third — *hatelu* etc. As to fractions, $\frac{1}{2}$ was translated with *kaeha*, both $\frac{1}{3}$ and $\frac{1}{4}$ with *teratan k(a)eha* and $\frac{3}{4}$ with *tananan eha ratan eha* (add a little bit until it is one).

Ha- of the cardinal numbers is seldom omitted. It is occasionally done

when the numeral is preceded by a personal pronoun, e.g. *mirua* — you two; *it(a)rua* — we (incl.) two.

§ 11. *Numeral classifiers.*

There are a few numeral classifiers, whose use, however, is not strictly required. The most common one is *lolon* (meaning unknown), which may refer to human beings and various kinds of objects, e.g. *te lolon hanen* — six spears; *lipa lolon hatelu* — three pieces of cloth; *ai lolon haak* — four pieces of wood; *ito lolon halima* — five people. Other classifiers are *ain* (meaning unknown), *musan* (kernel, stone), *mata(n)* (eye). Examples: *raha ain ha'itu* — seven houses; *utan musan sanulu* — nine beans; *leo matan hakau* — eight days.

§ 12. Reduplication of numerals has more than one function. Thus *eha eha* may express: each by himself, each separately, e.g. *eha eha rohai la hira'ilin* — each of them went back to his own village (lit. one one they went back to their villages); *harua rua* may mean: two by two, by twos, but also: every other, e.g. *ton harua rua* — every other year, once in two years.

V PRONOUNS

§ 13. *Demonstrative pronouns.*

There are two demonstrative pronouns, viz. *ge* — this here, *go* — that there, which also function as final members of certain adverbial compounds (see § 30), as postpositive articles, and as particles expressing emphasis after personal pronouns (§ 16). Especially *go* has often become a mere expletive, e.g. after proper names, apparently without any semantic or grammatic function whatever. There is only one place in the texts where *go* is used as an independent demonstrative pronoun: *mega meti go raru: go hahata eha la Napar nean Pirara ne la o* — then the fishes said: this is given to you by a woman at Napar, named Pirara (65. 25). Elsewhere the independent demonstr. pron. is *nige*, *nigo* (the third person sing. of the personal pronoun followed by *ge* or *go*), e.g. *hira rua liu nigo* — when they two heard that.

§ 14. *Interrogative pronouns.*

Hari — who; *hala* — what (mostly independent; cp. however *leo hala* — when); *hari enen* — whose; *me* — which (adject.), e.g. *raha me* — which house. N.B. *me* also functions as a postpositive interrogative particle in general, e.g. *lame* — where, whither; *naime* — whence; *onime* — whether.

§ 15. *Indefinite pronouns.*

Eha — somebody, some, another, e.g. *ito(n) eha* — somebody, somebody else; *la ili eha* — in some other village (in contradistinction to *la iliralan* — in one's own village); *mamane eha* — a certain man, another

(the other) man; *ito(n) eha riun* — somebody else's wife; *ta ito(n) eha*, *ta hari eha* — nobody; *ta hala eha* — nothing. After numerals *eha*, when it does not mean "one", is used to express: approximately, e.g. *ton halima eha* — about five years.

Eha go, the same, that same, e.g. *leo eha go* — that same day; *eha go luli isin isin* — that same thing (the thing mentioned just now) is strictly forbidden. About *eha eha* see § 12 and § 17.

Tema, tetema, tema tema — all, e.g. *hira tema tema* — they all.

§ 16. *Personal pronouns.*

There is no difference in form between the independent personal pronouns and the pronominal prefixes used in the possessive flexion (§ 7). The independent pronouns are often — but not necessarily — followed by the demonstrative pronouns *ge* or *go*, which in that case are functioning as more or less weakly emphatical particles, *ge* being used with the first and second persons and *go* with the third persons. In many cases *go* is an expletive without any meaning, e.g. *hira go* never means anything but just: they, whereas postpositive *ge* has seldom or never lost its emphasizing function, e.g. *ao ge* — I myself (in contradistinction to other people).

§ 17. *Reflexive and reciprocal pronouns.*

There is no reflexive pronoun proper, but it seems that the personal pronoun may be used in that function, e.g. *ito(n) madjadjok hira* — the people who had tried to hide themselves.

Reciprocity may be expressed by *eha ... eha* — one ... the other, each other.

VI VERBAL FLEXION

§ 18. *Transitive and intransitive.*

There is no means to distinguish between transitive and intransitive verb-stems, nor is there any difference in form between the pronominal pre- and suffixes indifferent whether they indicate the agents of a transitive or intransitive verb or the patiens. Indeed, as we shall see, the connection between the verb-stem and these pronominal affixes is so loose that the verbal construction may be characterized as predominantly analytic. A number of verb-stems are neither transitive nor intransitive, but may function in either way, for example: *erak* — wait, await; *sopar* — sail away, set adrift, cause to sail; *kua* — whine, bemoan; *la* — go, stay, follow (e.g. a road); *otjo* — look, see; *pali* — anchor, put to anchor; *seka* — lay down, be lying down; *sere* — be able to, obtain; *(a)sō* — descend, throw down, take ashore; *suni* — burn, be burnt; *turu(n)* — descend, make descend, put ashore. There are also words which may function as adjectives, as transitive verbs and as intransitive verbs, e.g. from *garak* — angry, be angry with; *aogarak* — I am angry; *aogarakni* — I am angry with him;

aogarak la ni — I am angry with him (*la* is a preposition meaning "at, to, toward").

§ 19. *Active and passive.*

There is no grammatical distinction of active and passive construction. The agens always immediately precedes the verb, but the patiens may precede the agens or may follow the verb. Examples of the former, less usual, construction: *Maleman hira'edja* — Maleman they killed; *ao'ina hunu Tugun edja mega* — our mother the Tugun enemies have killed; *nilok mate niseka la hatu eha* — his dead friend (or: when his friend was dead) he laid on a rock; *Marupi Malolik edja mega* — Marupi Malolik has killed (Marupi has been killed by Malolik); *Malolik sa' to aaru hapa edja ma ni* — Malolik mentioned above the multitude trampled him to death (in this case the patiens indicated by the proper name is referred to once more by the personal pronoun *ni* at the end); *amihahatahata ... hunu Tugun edja puhik* — our women ... the Tugun enemies have killed all of them. So "he has been killed by them" may be expressed in two ways, viz. *ni hira'edja mega* or *hira'edja ni mega*, but there is no reason to presume that the former construction is conceived as passive.

§ 20. *Energetic and inert.*

The distinction between intentional action and unintentional action or inaction does not manifest itself in the pronominal affixes of the verbal form and it may be doubted whether it is expressed by grammatical means at all. There are, however, some verbal elements which in some cases seem to emphasize the intentional character of the act (see § 23—25).

§ 21. *The verbal form.*

With a view to the use of pronominal affixes all verb-stems may be divided into two groups: those beginning with a consonant and those beginning with a vowel.

The flexion of the former category is extremely simple. The agens and, eventually, the patiens are indicated by pronominal elements which do not differ in any respect from the independent personal pronouns and the prefixes of the possessive flexion of nouns. Thus, from *garak* — be angry: *aogarak* — I am angry; *ogarak* — you are angry; *nigarak* — he is angry; *amigarak* — we (excl.) are angry; *itagarak* — we (incl.) are angry; *migarak* — you (plur.) are angry; *hiragarak* — they are angry. From *garak* — be angry with (trans.): *aogarako* — I am angry with you; *aogarakni* — I am angry with him; *aogarakmi* — I am angry with you (plur.); *aogarakhira* — I am angry with them; *ogarakao* — you are angry with me; *ogarakni* — you are angry with him; *ogarakami* — you are angry with us; *ogarakhira* — you are angry with them; *nigarakao* — he is angry with me, etc. etc. From *garak la* — be angry with: *aogarak la o* — I am angry with you; *ogarak la ao* — you are angry with me, etc. etc. Verb-

stems ending in a vowel are treated in exactly the same manner, e.g. from *heo* — call: *aoheo'o*, *aoheoni*, *aoheomi*, *aoheohira*, *oheo'ao*, *oheoni*, *oheo'-ami*, *oheohira*, *niheo'ao*, *niheo'o*, *niheoni*, *niheo'ami*, *niheo'ita*, *niheomi*, *niheohira*, *amiheo'o*, *amiheoni*, *amiheomi*, *amiheohira*, *itaheoni*, *itaheohira*, *miheo'ao*, *miheoni*, *miheo'ami*, *miheohira*, *hiraheo'ao*, *hiraheo'o*, *hiraheoni*, *hiraheo'ami*, *hiraheo'ita*, *hiraheomi*, *hiraheohira*.

As regards the verb-stems beginning with a vowel, some are treated like the above-mentioned category, e.g. *erak* — wait, await; *otjo* — look, see; *edja* — kill; *oso* — cut; *uhuk* — take. Thus: *ao'otjo'o* — I see you; *o'otjo'ao* — you see me; *ni'otjo'ao* — he sees me; *hira'otjoni* — they see him etc. etc. (N.B. We do not know of any verb-stem beginning with *a-* in this category). Other stems beginning with a vowel (especially, but not exclusively, those beginning with *a-*) get a pronominal infix between the pronoun indicating the agens and the verb, viz. *-m-* in the second pers. sing., *-n-* in the third pers. sing., and *-r-* in the plural. Example: from *apu* — sleep: *ao'apu* — I sleep; *omapu* — you sleep; *ninapu* — he sleeps; *amirapu* — we (excl.) sleep; *itarapu* — we (incl.) sleep; *mirapu* — you (plur.) sleep; *hirarapu* — they sleep. To this category belong e.g. *aru* — speak, say; *asō* — descend, throw down; *ala* — go, follow; *aloa* — go, travel; *ahai* — ascend; *ohai* — ascend; *ohi* — do, make; *enu* — drink. Forms with *ni-n-* and *hira-r-* alternate with forms with *n-* and *r-*. Thus from *aru*: *ninaru* and *naru*, *hirararu* and *raru*; from *ohai*: *ninohai* and *nohai*, *hirarohai* and *rohai*. In the second pers. sing. too, though less frequently as it seems — *o-m-* alternates with *m-*, e.g. *omaru* and *maru*, *omahai* and *mahai*. Occasionally (perhaps we should say exceptionally) *ni-* is used instead of *ni-n-*, e.g. *ni'ala* instead of the usual forms *ninala* and *nala*, *ni'ohik* instead of *ninohik* and *nohik*. Likewise, in the third pers. plur. we may meet with *hira'ohik* instead of the usual forms *hirarohik* and *rohik*.

As has been mentioned above (§ 4), a number of verbs occur with and without initial *a-*, e.g. *(a)hai*, *(a)la*, *(a)sō*, *(a)hok*. Consequently the second and third pers. sing. and the plural of these verb-stems have three forms. Thus from *(a)hai*: *ohai*, *omahai*, *mahai* (2nd. pers. sing.), *nihai*, *ninahai*, *nahai* (3rd. pers. sing.), *hirahai*, *hirarahai*, *rahai* (3rd. pers. plur.); from *(a)la*: *ola*, *omala*, *mala* (2nd. pers. sing.), *nila*, *ninala*, *nala* (3rd. pers. sing.), *hiralala*, *hiraralala*, *rala* (3rd. pers. plur.); from *(a)sō*: *osō*, *omasō*, *masō* (2nd. pers. sing.), *nisō*, *ninasō*, *nasō* (3rd. pers. sing.), *hirasō*, *hirasasō*, *rasō* (3rd. pers. plur.) etc.

§ 22. The prefix *ka-*.

According to the interpreter *ka-* is a synonym of *ita-* (we, inclus.). Though it is true that it always refers to the first person plur. incl., this statement does not by any means cover all the cases in which *ka-* is used. It is quite evident that it also almost invariably expresses adhortation or intention, so that it always may be translated as: let us, we shall (will). The fact that it is not very seldom used in combination with *ita-* seems

to prove that its pronominal function is not predominant. Examples: *karapu nahu* — let us (we will) sleep first (38. 45); *kati sara Malai ē ka'erak ma lage* — shall we go and meet Malai or shall we wait for him here (44. 37); *ka'erak ma lage tjoihala itata'edja Marupi* — let us (we will) wait for him to come here because we have not killed Marupi (45. 3); *ao'oro Tugun leo eha ge karohi asuran* — I and Tugun on this day we want to make lasting peace (45. 25); *ili Erai go noro Ilwaki Galigau karohirohi mega alin* — the village of Erai and Ilwaki of Alor we will contract an alliance of brotherhood (48. 37); *kano mega niha ge* — let us leave behind his loin-cloth (58. 13); *ma, kataun mega* — come, let us (we will, are going to) leave (66. 22); *aomaturu nahu natji katapa* — I shall come down first, then we shall talk (67. 28); *ma kara mega garu go* — come, let us eat that rice (87. 28); *amima lage karohite* — we (excl.) come here, let us (incl.) fight, i.e. we have come here to fight with you (42. 6); *ita ge karohai oni ra* — we (incl.) will cross to the land (Wetar) (47. 3); *ita tema tema kati mega hopu ana kua mega* — we (incl.) all let us (incl.) go to feed the children (who) are crying (50. 29); *aoheo mirua ma ita hatelu katur tjas la ili ge* — I invited you two that we (incl.) three let us (incl.) live together in this village, i.e. I invited you two with the intention that we three etc. (52. 15); *amima lage katur tjatjas mega lage* — we (excl.) (have) come here, let us (incl.) live together here (53. 14); *itakahaga amiriun noro amianahira* — let us (incl.) go to look for our wives and our children (53. 16); *ita ge kamate* — we are going to die (or: let us die) (58. 6); *ita ge kapuhik* — we are going to be killed all of us (in this case it is evident from the context that there is no question of adhortation or intention) (58. 12); *itaka'oro Laik Gomi nitonhira ka oni djulu* — let us (incl.) (go) with Elder Gomi and his men to the East (lit. we let us with L. G. and his men let us to the East) (53. 21).

§ 23. *The auxiliary and verbal particle -ma-*.

Ma as an independent verb means "come". As an auxiliary verb it may simply state that something is going to happen in the (near) future, but as a rule it also expresses conditionality, potentiality and (more weakly) intention or conditional exhortation. Examples: *ao ge mamate mega* — now I (with emphasis) am going to die (40. 13); *to eha manohi* — if anybody should do (that) (45. 27); *mima'otjo ito mimarohik miana lari rasō oni loi* — when you see (if you should see) anybody, you will (should) pick up your children and run away to the boat (50. 23); *hari magatun hahekhira rohai oni ra ma haga kaila* — who is going to (willing to) escort the old women to the land going to (in order to) collect beans (50. 15); *amima-haheo ani* — when we want (are going) to call the bees (78. 17); *oni amimasuren haheo ani amimamate* — if we should omit calling the bees, we should die (78. 23); *ami ge mara mega kraī noro reha* — now we here want (are going) to eat maize and rice (72. 3); *mimarohipatjak halik mima-krotja* — if you should sin again, you would be paralysed (84. 24); *ami...*

mamate klar — we were going to die from hunger (50. 13); *ao ge mane hala la mi* — what shall I give to you (pl.) (66. 37); *onima mahaheo ami heo amiruanean ma amimama ra gañ go* — when you want (are going) to call us, call out the names of us two that we may come and eat that food (58. 23); *puhik hala hala ge nimahia nohi nalun* — after this he (the deceased) will (should, is expected to) take these things along as provisions (87. 11); *ne reha go la hira mapai rohi ehen* — they give that rice to them (that rice is given to them) to be thrashed (83. 7); *Laik Kara go halik matehu hunu go* — Elder Kara went back to meet the enemies (59. 17); *nimate meti go* — when he was going to spear those fishes (65. 9); *hira ... la marahaun* — they went to make peace (43. 9); *osakua, lok Marupi malea'o oni Nusan* — don't cry (for if you don't stop) Marupi will take you away to the Island (44. 23); *eha eha naru puhik mahahau la namo me* — when each has told in which piece of ground he wants (intends, is going) to make a garden (73. 32); *rahaluku eha ge notji la amiihi mahahau* — this house-post makes that our bodies will be healthy (56. 4); *omala* — when you go away (44. 1); *nimama* — when he comes (45. 5); *hahi ateni go nimahau* — if the pig's liver should be good (71. 12); *ana eha nimanaru nohi sala hala eha* — if anybody should confess that he sinned in any way (79. 19); *oni mi Erai ma'otjo meti la sapanralan mirohik, oni mima'otjo la loiinan misarohik* — if you Erai people will (may) see fish in a small canoe, take it, if you will (may) see it in a large boat, don't take it (49. 9); *oni ito eha nikapun mamapeu* — if (when) somebody's belly should begin to ache (86. 1); *hira Tugun ... ma ... la Napar ma roro hira Napar marohite* — the Tugun people came to Napar in order to fight the people of Napar (50. 3).

The examples given above show that in several cases *ma* may be rendered by "in order to" or simply "to", the latter for example after verbs expressing an order or advice, e.g. *Aran Kara go hopa ito materik hunu go* — the Marna of Kara ordered men to intercept those enemies (63. 5). In such cases the auxiliary has become a prepositional particle. Its verbal origin is still more obscured when it precedes a substantive to express "to be used as, for, as", e.g. *aomahutu paputi ge la olima ma tandja* — I shall tie this piece of white cloth to your hand as a mark (token) (45. 8). It is hardly to be doubted that it is this same particle which occasionally precedes the patiens (see § 8 and comp. the use of Mal. *akan*).

The notions of direction, purpose, intention, expectation are also obvious in the compounds consisting of a verb-stem preceded by *ma-go-*, viz. *magoheo* — who will (is to) call up (i.e. whose office is the calling up) (38. 1); *magotia* — pregnant woman (probably from a verb-stem *tia* — give birth) (81. 37); *magotui* — who will (are to) cook (whose office is the cooking) (80. 18).

Finally it is perhaps noteworthy that the interpreter also rather regularly gave *ma-* as an equivalent of the verbal prefix *me-* in Malay. In a single instance he even mentioned it as the equivalent of Malay *ber-*, viz. in

*mahua*ⁿ — bear fruit (from *hua*ⁿ — fruit) (Mal. *berbuah*). This may be a mistake; in local Malay *ber-* and *me-* are often mixed up.

§ 24. *The auxiliary and verbal particle -ohi-*.

Ohi as an independent verb means "do, make". It belongs to the verb-stems which make use of the pronominal pre- and infixes *-m-*, *-n-*, and *-r-* (see § 21). Examples of the independent verb: *amilagun rarohi loi* — our custom with regard to boat-building (lit. our custom making boats) (text XX); *eha eha nohi ma nienen* — each man makes his own (81. 4); *Malai nohi onigo puhik* — after Malai had acted thus (45. 10); *mimarohi hala* — what have you come for (lit. you came to do what) (76. 14); *oni mimahao ani, rohi onima ao'ohi go* — when you people want to call the bees, act as I do (78. 9); *amimanō ge, nimanohi peu ami* — if we should neglect it, it would make us ill (56. 34); *hirarohi nalun* — they made provisions (41. 11); *hala hala ge nimahia nohi nalun* — these things he will take along as provisions (lit. makes provisions) (87. 11); *ta rohi mega hala eha* — they did not do anything (61. 20); *nohi hala otama la raha* — why don't you come home (lit. makes what you don't come home) (68. 4); *ta nohi hala eha* — it does not matter (84. 26).

The function of *-ohi-* as an auxiliary verb or verbal particle is not altogether clear. It occurs mostly in the plural form *rohi-* (see § 21) referring to a plural agens and apparently expressing "together" or "each other". Perhaps it also indicates, but not very emphatically, intentional and more or less energetic action. Some examples: *aru* — speak, say; *rohiraru* — they quarrel; *garak* — angry, be angry; *rohigarak* — they are angry with each other, they quarrel; *here* — divide, separate; *rohihere* — they separate (from each other); *hoa* — marry; *rohihoa* — they marry (with each other); *hopan* — order, send; *rohihopan* — they order, send (each other); *halas* — repay, revenge; *rohihalas* — they repay, take revenge on (each other); *karak* — desire, be in love with; *rohikarak* — they desire, are in love with (each other); *selu* — exchange; *rohiselu* — they exchange (with each other); *soro* — meet; *rohisoro* — they meet (each other); *soru* — order, command; *rohisoru* — they order, command (each other); *tapa* — talk; *rohitapa* — they talk (together); *te* — throw, thrust, prick; *rohite* — they fight (together, each other); *ton* — arrange; make an arrangement; *rohiton* — they arrange together, agree; *hia* — take along, hold, take; *rohihia lima* — they grasped each other's hands (64. 11); *tōk* — find, meet with; *rohitōk* — they meet with (each other); *ohi* — do, make; *karohirohi mega alin* — we will (let us) contract an alliance of brotherhood (86. 38); *tulun* — help; *amiheti lalaik mi tema tema mimarohitulun ami* — we request you all, elders, to help us (53. 15). In all except the last of these examples the form with *rohi-* has for convenience' sake been translated as a third person plural. As a matter of fact, however, *rohi-* itself, setting aside its possible modal function, merely indicates that the agens is plural. For example from *aru* — speak, say: (*hira*)*rohiraru* — they quarrel; (*mi*)*rohi-*

raru — you people quarrel; (*ami*)*rohiraru* — we (excl.) quarrel; (*ita*)-*rohiraru* — we (incl.) quarrel. So *rohiraru* might be translated: "people are quarrelling" or "people quarrel". From this point of view it seems intelligible that *rohi-*, like *ma-* (§ 23), was given by the interpreter as an equivalent of Malay *me-*, e.g. *kosa* — bite, Mal. *gigit*; *rohi**kosa* — Mal. *menggigit*.

There are a few places in the texts where the verbal particle *-ohi-* is used in the third person singular (*-nohi-*), viz. *ani ge wēn nohisoro mega* — this wax has been melted and got mixed up (37. 6); *Makerek ... ninohitehu mega hunu la Esulit* — Makerek ... met with enemies in Esulit (63. 1); *Birkai mala ra nohitehu mega metiulu eha go* — Birkai went along the coast (i.e. happened to be fishing) and met with that shoal (65. 8).

In *omohihahau(n)* — take care, mind (lit. make safe), (*hira*)*rohihau(n)* — they made peace (45. 21), *marohihau(n)* — they wanted to make peace (51. 42) we are dealing with the independent verb, whereas in *rohira-hau(n)*, which also means "they made peace" (43. 13), *-ohi-* is auxiliary or verbal particle (cp. § 4).

§ 25. *The auxiliary and verbal particle -otji-*.

Otji is seldom used as an independent verb. A possible example is: *rahaluku(n) eha ge notji la amiihi mahahau* — this house-post makes that our bodies will be healthy (56. 4) in which case it means: "cause, bring about, lead to". More often, however, it evidently functions as a conjunction meaning: "that, in order that, so that", e.g. *raha eha hahi eha notji ili ge raha hatelu hahi hatelu* — each lineage (brings) one pig, so that the three lineages of this village bring three pigs (80. 14). Very frequently it is used with the meaning of "until", in which case it may be followed by *ratan(ma)*. Examples: *Tugun go te hira hatelu go notji te puhik* — the Tugun people threw spears at the three men until the spears were all gone (54. 10); *notji ratan miilin go* — until (you) arrive at your village (60. 17); *hira rua rohitapa lanigo notji hira rua rasō halik la orañ* — they two were talking there until they went down again (64. 12); *notji leu ralan halima* — until he (has been) round five times (81. 14); *notji ratan ge* — up to the present (57. 29); *notji ratan ma ge* — up to the present (64. 30).

As an auxiliary or verbal particle *-otji-* is especially used to express: "to, in order to". Examples: *ne la Pirubu notjilatji Pirara* — gave (it) to Pirubu to slash Pirara (68. 12); *ne la Laik Matutu rotjior on Napar* — gave (them) to Elder Matutu to pay for the harbour of Napar (47. 8); *ne la ito Ilwaki go rotjiturun halik Laik Naga* — gave (it) to the Ilwaki people in order to give back (lit. make descend) Elder Naga (48. 30); *hira'ohik tjigin rotjite hira hatelu go* — they took fire-stones to throw at the three men (54. 12); *kalo halik ma titi noro talō rojtiasuk namorinhira go* — the drums and gongs are beaten again to honour the earth-spirits (72. 17); *soi ēr la enian eha rotjilarapē hira'ama* — (they) poured water into a bamboo vessel to make fun of their father (76. 4); *marohik aokururōn go mirotjirohite* — (you) will take my hairs to fight (with) (57. 26); *ne*

gañ noro knohi rotjitjetje ana go — gives rice and sarung-cloth to provide for the child (81. 41); *rohi knohi raun eha no la aimorin rotjisahi nikapun* — (they) take a piece of worn cloth and warm it by the fire to massage her belly with (86. 12).

There are also cases in which the function of *-otji-* is by no means clear. In most of these cases, in fact, it is admittedly not indispensable. For example: *aoma'otjikatji ao'opi* — I want to sharpen my cutlass (39. 5); *ao'otjilatji ata laik eha* — I slashed some stranger (39. 6); *amimarotjiheti reha noro krai* — we want to ask for rice and maize (56. 21).

Finally, after a verbal form preceded by the prohibitive prefix *sa-* it seems to introduce the patiens, e.g. *osapasiotji raha lage* — do not build a house here (37. 14); *satjoiotji Pikopa tatapa go* — don't follow Pikopa's advice (44. 5).

§ 26. Imperative, adhortative, prohibitive.

The imperative is expressed by means of the verb-stem usually, but not necessarily, preceded by the personal pronoun second pers. sing. or plur. Examples: *(o)masō* — go!; *(o)laik* — jump!; *(o)panu* — rise!; *(o)mohi-hahau(n)* — mind, take care! (lit. make safe!); *mia'uk* — take (plur.) away!; *migehia* — you people (with emphasis) take!; *oni mimaheo ani, rohi onima ao'ohi go* — when you people want to call the bees, act as I do (78. 9).

Possibly *-tara* functions as an adhortative prefix, cp. *ina, otjotara* — mother, look please (Mal. translation: *tjoba lihat*) (67. 24).

The use of *ma-* as an adhortative prefix is quite common. Examples: *ma mega katau mega sepaki* — come, let us depart now; *makara* — come, let us eat (87. 28); *oma'erak* — you should wait; *omamohik* — you should take; *mimarohik* — you (plur.) should take.

The prohibitive is expressed by the prefix *sa-*, which is put between the pronoun referring to the agens and the verbal form. Examples: *osakua* — don't weep; *osalari* — don't run away; *osate* — don't hit; *misagarak la ami* — don't you people be angry with us, don't quarrel with us; *misapau amiriun* — don't you people molest our wives; *amisapau miriun* — we must not (are forbidden to) molest your wives. The pronoun may be omitted when the identity of the agens is sufficiently clear from the context, and the agens may also be indicated by a substantive. Examples: *sarohipatjak rarú* — don't (you people) sin any more; *sarohite rarú* — don't (you people) fight again (the same thing may be expressed by: *samararúrohite*); *samala ra* — don't travel along the coast; *ami'ili ge sagarak la mi* — our village here (this our village) must not (is forbidden to) quarrel with you people.

§ 27. Past.

There are no grammatical forms of the past tense. The fact that some action has been completed or that an event has taken place in the past is

sometimes indicated by the particle *mega*, which, however, is more often used as an emphatical expletive. Examples: (o)*maru la olainhira ao mate mega* — tell your uncles that I have died (40. 14); *tjoihala ola mega ma ge* — because you had come here already (37. 31); *hira Tugun otjo to Erai lari mega oni Nusan* — when the Tugun people saw that the Erai people had fled to the Island (50. 11); *hira'otjo mate mega otjo Djam sopar mega* — when they saw that he was dead and saw that the Damar people had sailed away (60. 3); *amilagun amino mega* — we have given up our custom (58. 28); *ao'ina hunu Tugun edja mega* — my mother has been killed by the Tugun enemies (40. 23); *Marupi Malolik edja mega* — Marupi has been killed by Malolik (43. 33); *pe mate mega* — but he is dead (44. 10); *lari mega la ili Parupu* — had fled to the village Parupu (44. 33); *oni seka mega la raha* — when it has been stored in a house (49. 13).

The adverbial and conjunctive particle *puhik* may express exactly the same thing as Mal. *sesudah* when it is part of the predicate, and as Mal. *sesudah itu* when it forms a subordinate clause by itself. Examples: *hira'edja puhik* — when they had finished killing; *nipali puhik* — when he had put the boat to anchor; *nitopu puhik* — when she had bathed; *hiratapa onigo puhik* — when they had spoken thus; *puhik Laik Garen go heo aniupun go onige* — then (after this, when this had been done) Elder Garen called up the bee-spirits thus (77. 33).

About other uses of *puhik* see § 31.

§ 28. *Future.*

When one wants to indicate that an action will take place in the (near) future, one may use the auxiliary *ma*, which in that case may be rendered by "going to", e.g. *mamate* — going to die; *joar to mamane harua matau mega* — to-morrow two men are going to depart; *aomatok* — I am going to find. However, as has been demonstrated in § 23, the functions of this auxiliary are rather modal than temporal.

We may conclude that there are no auxiliary verbs or particles whose essential function is indicating past, perfect, or future tense.

§ 29. *Relative pronoun and subordinate clause.*

A relative pronoun proper is lacking, but its function is often performed by the subordinating prefix *a-*, which may be preceded by the initial consonant of the word to which it is prefixed or by the pronominal prefixes *n-* (sing.) or *r-* (plur.). This particle may be prefixed to a verb (in which case it may refer to the agens or to the patiens), to an adjective (who or which is ..., being ...), or to an adverbial or prepositional particle, especially *-oro-* (who or which is with ..., being with). Examples: *aedja* — who kills, who is killed; *aerik* — who throws down, who is thrown down; *Pikopa tatapa go* — what is (has been) said by Pikopa, Pikopa's advice; *raraloa* — who (plur.) are travelling; *namon eha otjatjali go* — the terri-

tory where you (will) stay (lit. some territory you who are staying); *misasolan* — which has been set out (prepared) by you (plur.); *lalari go* — who ran away, who are running away; *nanohi lemusan* — who has had the affair, who is having the affair; *to lala heo go* — the man (men) who go (went) to call; *osa hiranane* — the property which they give; *itohira nila-latji go* — the men whom he (had) cut down; *hiramagagain* — when they were going to leave; *rarorotapa* — to whom they were speaking; *ito raro-hihoa haherun* — people who marry for the first time; *hunu nanaidjulu* — enemies from the East. In this way may, of course, also be formed nomina agentis and nomina instrumenti, e.g. *haheo* — who calls, caller; *kakehen* — carrying-cloth (from *kehe* — carry in a cloth).

As we have seen above (§ 23), conditional subordinate clauses are often introduced by the auxiliary and verbal particle *ma-*. When the initial consonant of the verb-stem is *m-*, there is of course no difference in form between this *ma-* and the subordinating prefix *a-* preceded by the initial *m-*. Thus *Djamhira mamate go* might mean: if the Damar people died, the Damar people are (were) going to die, or: the Damar people who had died (had been killed). In this instance the context (see 60. 7) shows that the last-mentioned translation is the right one, and in most cases there is no uncertainty as to which construction has been used.

In constructions as *amimahaheo* — when we want to call, *hiramagagain* — when they were going to leave, *ma* is the auxiliary expressing intention or near future (cp. § 23 and § 28) and the subordinating element is *a-* preceded by the initial consonant of the verb-stem.

In many cases, however, subordinate clauses of this kind are not introduced either by *ma-* or by *a-*, but are in no way different in form from the principal sentence. Examples: *aomunatok mamane go*, *aolatjio*, *omate*; *omunatok aoriun ge go*, *olatjiao*, *aomate* — if I got that man first, you shall die when I slash you; if you got my husband here first, I shall die when you slash me (68. 9); *liunigo* — when he heard this; *hiraratan la raha* — when they arrived at the house.

VII PARTICLES

§ 30. *Particles expressing relations of space or time.*

Atji, etji — then, but then, thereupon; *natji* — then, but then, thereupon. Examples: *etji to aaru la hau hira'enen la leo eha go* — then the villagers make theirs (viz. their gardens) on that same day (73. 35); *amitamou puhik natji amima* — when we had buried him, we came back (39. 19); *tataha tea natji moak kur go la tearalan* — only when they were tilling the gardens, then they would smoke those cigarettes in the gardens (75. 33); *ma raro-hi tea netji moak kur go* — when they are going to work in the gardens, then they smoke those cigarettes (56. 27); *ata mate enen go lama rare go natji asu na tjotjoan* — the deceased's share remains lying on the ground until (lit. thereupon) it is eaten by the dogs (88. 1). *Natji* preceding an adjective expresses that the state indicated by the adjective has been reached, e.g.

natji air — grown up; *natji hau(n)* — healed, recovered. Examples of the use of *atji* in this meaning are not available. For the rest, however, there is apparently no semantic difference whatever between the forms with or without initial *n-*.

Djela — above, on top of (adv. and postpos.). It is always preceded as it seems by one of the prepositions: *la* (in, at), *oni* (to), *nai* (from), which expressions resp. mean: above (on high, on top), up, and down. In many cases *djela* functions as a second member of a nominal compound whose first member is a substantive, in which case it means: top or upperside. According to the interpreter it may also be used in the meaning of sky, mountain, in other words for anything that is overhead or has a top that is overhead. Examples: *hiraratan la hau go djela* — when they reached the top of that tree (41. 17); *niso nai raha djela* — he jumped down from the roof of a house (52. 31); *nilukun go kai la djela* — his feet stuck fast above (57. 22); *erik tabaku la ata mate klutu djela go* — strew tobacco on the grave of the deceased (87. 18); *rohai oni tea djela go* — they went up to the gardens (60. 6); *hira rua hai oni djela lek* — they two climbed up half-way (64. 11).

Hekega — again. In the texts it occurs in one place only: *mirualain ma lage halik hekega* — your (two people) uncle came here and went back again (39. 12).

Hoho(n) — above, on top of; also *la ... hoho(n)*. Examples: *otjo hira'ama palihoho mega otjo tjahiralan* — saw their father floating, saw him in the sea (39. 15); *la tutun hohon* — on the cape (57. 9); *nusa hoho(n)* — earth (lit. island above).

La — in, on, at, to, against, among; preposition. Examples: *la ao* — to me (40. 29); *halik ma la ni* — returned to him (40. 34); *ninaru la hira* — he said to them (41. 9); *pali la Esulit* — anchor at Esulit (37. 11); *garak la* — angry with (49. 5); *rohihere la* — divide between (among) (61. 10); *la loiralan* — in the boat (37. 2); *lage* — here (lit. in this here) (37. 14); *lanigo* — there (67. 11); *lame* — where. In one text, told by a man from Esulit, *la* is occasionally used in a peculiar way: *noro la ni* — with him (74. 38); *krau natja la ito iliralan* — plates according to the people of the village (as many plates as there were people in the village (75. 20). In the latter case *natja la* is used instead of the more usual *natja ma* (cp. *Atja*).

Lek — in the middle of (prepos. and postpos.). Examples: *oni djela lek* — half-way up (64. 12); *oni leklo'* — into the middle of the sea (far into the sea) (74. 38).

Lihu(r). According to the interpreter this word, really a verb-stem (see Vocabulary) is also used in the meaning of "outside" (Mal. *diluar*).

Liu is a substantive stem meaning "back, backpart"; *la ... liu* — at (somebody's) back, behind (somebody). Examples: *la hiraliu* — behind them (87. 26); *la hahata ... niliu* — behind the ... woman (86. 2).

Muna, mamuna, mumuna — first, first of all, earlier. Ordinal number, adverb, and verbal particle. See Vocabulary.

Nahu — first, to begin with; its meaning is weaker than *muna*. Examples: *amila rohite nahu* — we are going to fight first (48. 22); *nimunalatji nahu niriun* — he first of all slashed down his wife (58. 8); *erak nahu* — wait a moment (cp. Mal. *nanti dulu*); *karapu nahu* — let us sleep first (38. 45). See also Vocabulary.

Nai(n), naima — from (prep. of time and space), (made) out of. Examples: *naima go ratan ge* — from that time up to now (64. 18); *lari nai Madjar* (37. 11); *nai nilēn ratan nikuratun* — from her buttocks to her head (40. 17); *marohi loi eha nai ai* — to build a boat of wood (77. 8); *naima* — whence (67. 28).

Oni, uni — to, towards (prepos.). See Vocabulary.

Oran — below, underneath, under (adv. and prep.). Examples: *orañ nige* — down here (under this place) (39. 2); *nisō tupu la orañ* — jumped down and struck down (the ground) (52. 32); *nai(n) orañ* — from underneath (86. 16); *omasō oni orañ* — you go down (64. 7); *ratan la orañ* — when he got down (64. 10).

Oro — (be) with, together with, connected with, related to; often functioning as part of a verbal construction, in which case it is usually preceded by a pronominal prefix. *Noro* is also used as an independent coordinating conjunction, preposition or adverb: "and, with, also". Examples: *Erai noro Napar roro djagan rohite* — Erai and Napar fight with strangers (title XII); *norotehu hea eha* — she met with a crocodile (67. 2); *nohik noro nitea* — he took his spear too (44. 14); *Maganun, moroturu reha noro krai* — Maganun, descend with rice and maize (75. 26); *rorokua ma hira* — (they) wail together with them (87. 5); *to hira raroro ana go* — the people (women) who accompany the daughter (83. 6); *ninoroma nitjurus hira aaru* — she comes together with all her friends, she takes along all her friends (83. 2); *ta'orotehu* — I did not meet (anybody) (lit. no meeting with) (38. 43); *tarorokosa* — they do not join in the eating (82. 12); *amihia noroma ani matapu la Nusan* — we shall cause the bees to nestle on the Island (lit. we bring along the bees to nestle on the Island) (78. 12); *amima ra noroma hahi noro gañ* — we shall eat pork and rice (78. 13); *loi go noro la ni oni lek lo'* — the boat drifted off with him far into the sea (74. 38); *hutu noroma ana go* — they tied the child (52. 34); *noroma nitonhira* — with his followers (58. 3); *ita roro lari niha go* — we are running away with that loincloth of his (58. 13); *ao ta oro mega o* — I shall not be with you any longer (57. 23).

Puhik. The functions of this adverbial and conjunctive particle have been briefly enumerated in the Vocabulary, and examples of its use in verbal constructions with the meaning of Mal. *sesudah* (as soon as, after ...) or as an independent adverb corresponding with Mal. *sesudah itu* (after this) have been given in § 27. Still other functions of *puhik* will be illustrated in § 31.

Ralan — in, inside, within (postpos.). See Vocabulary and § 31.

Ratan — as far as, until (prep. of time and space). See Vocabulary and § 31.

Tutu(n) — up, on top (postpos.); *la tutu(n)* — up, on top. See Vocabulary.

§ 31. *Particles expressing subjective relations.*

Atja — there is, being, is (with emphasis), actually (really) is; in this function the word is always translated with Mal. *ada*. *Natja la, natja ma* are used to express "enough for, in proportion to". As in various other cases *la* and *ma* are used here indiscriminately. Some examples: *ito atja la djela ge* — there are people above here (37. 15); *atja nigo* — which is there (37. 17); *atja oraŋ nige* — being down here (39. 2); *onusan atja ra ge* — your island actually is this land (75. 1); *krau natja ma ito* — as many plates as there are men (69. 14); *lipa hanen natja tea sa'* — six pieces of cloth conformably to the (number of) spears just mentioned (82. 15); *hoki la krau natja la ito iliralan* — put it on as many plates as there were people in the village (75. 19); *notji natja ma to hira raroro ana go* — until there is enough for all the women who accompany the daughter (83. 6); *rohi katjuak ligu eha eha natja ma hira go sa'* — they make *ketupat* (lumps of steamed rice) and tie them, one for each of those people (83. 14); *ta natja la hira ili go* — there was not enough for the inhabitants of the village (63. 22).

Gai. The main function of this particle seems to be the expressing of doubt. Wherever it occurs in the texts (41. 38 and 79. 15) it may be translated with "perhaps". The interpreter, indeed, gave as Mal. equivalent *barangkali*.

Ma. The functions of this verb stem as an auxiliary and as a particle usually translated with Mal. *akan* have been discussed in §§ 8, 23, 26, 28, 29 and in the Vocabulary. It is, however, not quite certain that *ma*, when it seems to introduce the patiens, really has this function. There are cases in which it might also be regarded as postpositive *ma* (Vocab. **Ma**₄), whose exact shade of meaning is difficult to ascertain. This may be illustrated by the following examples: *ami rua aman nipito noro kluni mia ma* — our father's sleeping-mat and pillow are still here (39. 34); *taha puhik nō ma* — after the planting (the gardens) are left alone (74. 3); *taha puhik rakawari ma* — after sowing they just amuse themselves (with dancing and singing) (71. 25); *hahata kua ma la raha* — the women are wailing in the house (87. 21); *roro kua ma hira* — together with them they wail (87. 5). In the foregoing examples we are evidently dealing with postpositive *ma*, which in these cases may perhaps be translated with "just, only". *Niotjo onigo nihia ma hatu go* — when he saw this, he took the stone along (75. 7); *lalaikhira ukun halik ma hahi eha* — the village elders have a pig brought again (84. 26); *ukun halik ma osa* — property is collected again (84. 13); *mamane go ne halik ma osa* — that man again gives property (85. 26); *hia halik ma hahi eha* — (then) once more bring a pig (79. 20); *nio' meha ma*

on *Napar* — he only bought the harbour of *Napar* (N.B. *meha* means "only") (47. 13); *leo leo tjuā ma aimorin* — daily (continually) they burn the fire (86. 17). In these cases too *ma* might be a particle expressing that the act is done "again" or "just, only" or "continually". Some adverbs or particles are frequently followed by *ma*, as e.g. *noro* and *halik*.

Mega. This is the most common adverbial particle, used to express both relations of time (cp. § 27 and Vocabulary) and different kinds of subjective relations whose real nature often remains rather obscure or uncertain at least. In most cases it seems to emphasize. The following examples may illustrate some shades of meaning: *ani ge mega?* — is that (all) the wax? (37. 6); *aomahalik mega* — I am just going back (in answer to the suggestion to sleep first) (38. 45); *ao ta erak mega* — I am just not going to wait (in answer to the request to wait) (39. 3); *ani ge wēn nohisoro mega* — this wax has been melted and mixed up (37. 6); *nihalik mega leo eha go* — he went back that same day (39. 8); *mitjoi mega Maleman aonara go* — you people must pursue Maleman, my brother (39. 23); *panahuru anan hirarohite mega* — early in the morning they fought (39. 27); *ola mega Nusan, ao ge mamate mega* — you go back to the Island, as to me, I am going to die (40. 13); *Tugun hia mega Pihori* — the Tugun just took hold of Pihori (40. 16); *niratan ili niheo mega nilainhira* — when he arrived at the village, he called together his uncles (41. 6); *ita la haga mega ao'inan* — we are going to look for my mother (41. 9); *niotjo esa tamia mega* — he saw that there was no ladder (41. 22); *Pihori anan nige mega, mima mega edjani* — Pihori's son is here, now you people come and kill him (41. 27); *hiraknanan la ma rahaun mega* — they went with the purpose of making peace (43. 9); *ninorotehu mega nilok Malolik* — he met with his friend Malolik (43. 23); *pasi mega hirare loi* — (they) built and then (when they had finished building) they dragged the boat ashore (37. 21); *nikua mega naru la nianan harua* — she wept and (then) told her two sons (39. 21); *hirama mega rohite* — they came and (then) there was a fight (41. 30); *amiama amitōk pe mate mega* — we found our father, but he was dead (or: had already died) (39. 19); *niotjo hunu Tugun leu mega niinan Pihori* — he saw that Tugun enemies just were surrounding (or: had already surrounded) his mother Pihori (40. 9). One gets the impression that this particle has lost much of its expressive power and is degenerating to a colourless expletive. Some informants were already using it as such quite freely.

Oni. As has been mentioned in the Vocabulary, *on(i)* is used as a subordinating conjunction expressing: 1. because; 2. in the same way as; 3. if, when. We have no means to determine the relation between this *on(i)* and *oni* — to, towards. Some examples: *on Malai age lik niinan, nipeu hula harua* — because Malai could not forget his mother (lit. remembered very much his mother), he was ill for two months (40. 24); *on Malolik nianan kua, nipaun rohirahuru* — because (when) Malolik's child cried, his grandparents jokingly said (44. 22); *nion to eha nohi sala mega hala eha* — it

must be owing to somebody doing something wrong (79. 13); *oni ana eha nohi sala la itoriun gai* — because somebody may have been doing wrong with somebody's else's wife (79. 14); *hahi atēn go haun oni kai go ta edja mega* — if the pig's liver is good, because strong, there is no more killing (69. 34); *sunī puhik ta edja hahi oni tea haheli* — when the burning is finished, no pig is killed, as is done for the gardens of value (73. 43); *oni hira rua raro hi lemusan go ma rohihoa* — if (when) the two people who are having an affair want to marry (85. 1); *oni amimasuren haheo ani amimate* — if we omitted calling the bees, we should die (78. 23); *oni gagole* — childbirth (lit. if being born) (title XXIV); *oni ito eha nikapun mama-peu* — when somebody's womb begins to ache (86. 1).

Puhik. The following examples may illustrate the use of *puhik* as a particle expressing: altogether, quite, wholly; finished, gone: *notji te puhik* — until all the spears were gone (54. 11); *aiklutun puhik hirate tau ana meras* — when the lumps of wood were gone, they threw with small children (54. 15); *puhik esuain hatelu go rasō mega oni tjahi* — when none (of the children) were left (or: after this) the three warriors went back to the coast (54. 16); *hiraotjo hahata noro ana meras mate puhik mega* — they saw that the women and the small children were dead all of them (53. 3); *leo eha go mamane hira Sorai la puhik haga hahi la lete* — that very day all the men of Sorai had left to look for pigs in the mountains (52. 22); *ili go sasim puhik* — that village site was altogether inaccessible (41. 15).

Ratan. This word is undoubtedly a verb stem meaning "arrive, reach". From this primary sense its various functions evidently derive. According to the interpreter it is also used to express "enough" (Mal. *tjukup*); this meaning too is easily explainable (cp. Mal. *sampai*) and there is no reason to question it, although it does not occur in our texts.

VOCABULARY

A

- a**, subordinating prefix, referring to the agens, the patiens or the possessor of some quality. The prefix is usually preceded by the initial consonant of the word to which it is prefixed (in that case there is, consequently, also reduplication) or by the pronominal prefixes *n-* or *r-*. For example: *aedja*, who kills, who is killed; *aair*, who is big (*air*, big); *raedja*, who kill (plur.); *haheo*, who calls, who is called, caller; *paputi*, who is white; *nage*, who is this, who is here, this, here; *nalama*, who stays (*lama*, stay, be somewhere). See also G. N. §§ 3, 4, 29.
- aair**, see **air**.
- aaru**, see **aru**.
- age**, remember, keep thinking of.
- agi**, tooth (grinder).
- agin**, old, having been used for a long time.
- ahai**, see **hai**.
- ahok**, agree with, take kindly. Cp. **hok**.
- ahoⁿ**, finish, stop.
- ahuk(u)**, open, wake, watch.
- ahun**, refuse, dregs. Cp. **rare**, **ai 2**.
- ahuru**, make fun of; (*rohi*)*rahuru*, they make fun of, tease.
- ai 1**, wood, piece of wood, pole, post, stick, tree; *ai ai*, pieces of wood; *aiakar*, root; *aigutan*, heart-wood; *aihana(n)*, branch; *aihuaⁿ*, fruit; *aihuaⁿihin*, pulp (of a fruit); *aihuaⁿulik*, peel; *aihuna*, flower; *aiklutun*, lump of wood; *ailaran*, mast of a ship; *ainanu*, sap, gum, resin; *aipapan*, bench (seat) in a boat; *airoⁿ*, leaf; *airurin*, thorn; *aiteas*, a wooden pillar erected in the centre of the village on which the captured heads are laid down and round which people dance; *aiulik*, tree-bark; *aiun*, tree.
- ai 2**, fire; *aimahun*, smoke.
- aikinin**, toadstool, mushroom (probably from *ai*, wood: tree-ear).
- aimori(n) 1**, fire.
- aimori(n) 2**, youngest (of the children of a family).
- aimuna**, the eldest, elder (of the children of a family). Cp. **muna**.
- ain**, numeral classifier (its meaning is uncertain).
- air**, big, large, tall; *aair*, who is big etc., big.
- airon**, a kind of fish (in Tim. Mal. called *ile*).
- ajulu**, see **ana(n)**.
- ak**, four, usually with the numeral prefix *ha-*: *haak*. See G. N. § 10.
- aka**, lontar-palm.
- akadjoka**, startled, terrified, panic-stricken; with *n-* prefix *nakadjoka*; with *r-* prefix *rakadjoka*. See G. N. § 4.
- akamohun**, cooled down, at ease, safe, healthy; with *r-* prefix: *rakamohun*; *makamohun*, to be healthy, safe, at ease. See G. N. § 4, § 23.
- akan**, deceive.

akar, root. Cp. ai 1.

(a)karuha, tobacco-basket.

akatjohi, cripple, limping. See G. N. § 4.

akawari, play, divert oneself, relax, feast; *akawari ekun*, play with a top; with *n*-prefix: *nakawari*; with *r*-prefix: *rakawari*. See G. N. § 4.

akon, see *lima*.

ala, see la 4.

ali(n), a man's younger brother, father's brother's son or daughter (younger than himself), mother's sister's son or daughter (younger than himself), a woman's younger sister, father's brother's son or daughter (younger than herself), mother's sister's son or daughter (younger than herself). See also p. 10.

aloa, go, travel, be travelling; *laloa hahau*, farewell; with *r*-prefix: *raloa*.

alu, pounder, pestle.

ama(n), father, father's brother and the other male members of father's lineage and generation. See also p. 10.

aman(e), male (of animals). Cp. *mamane*.

ami, we, us, our (exclus.) See G. N. §§ 7, 16.

anak, understanding, cunning, trick (it has exactly the same meanings as Mal. *akal*).

anakotja, captain, master of craft (Mal. *anakoda*).

ana(n), little, small; child; *ana(n) aimori*, youngest child; *ana(n) aimuna*, eldest child; *ana(n) ajulu*, eldest child; *ana(n) eha*, a little, alone, one child, another child (see G. N. §§ 10, 15); *ana(n) hahata*, daughter; *ana(n)*

mamane, son; *anahata*, sister's child, as distinguished from *anamane*, (that woman's) brother's child; *ana ili*, people of the village, villagers (see G. N. § 2); *ana meras*, little child; *anamera-mera(s)*, all the little children; *anahira*, lit. the children, often used in the meaning of: villagers, the village population; with the same meaning is also used *anahira iliralan* (cp. *ilin*); *ana kapu(n) rua*, twins (cp. *kapun*); *anaralanhira*, the members of the lineage; *ana res susu*, infant at the breast.

ani, bee, bee-nest, bee-wax; *aniër*, honey, *anirin*, bee-spirit (lit. bee-master, bee-lord); *anitepun*, bee-season; *aniupun*, bee-spirit (= *anirin*); *aniwe*, honey.

ani(n), air, wind; *aniani(n)*, rumour; *ani tetehu*, head wind (cp. *tehu*); *ani tjotjoi*, favourable wind (cp. *tjoi*).

ao, **au**, I, me, my. See G. N. §§ 7, 16.

apak, primeval forest.

ap(a)lihu(r), see *lihu(r)*.

ape, make fun of, take in.

ape(n), cheek, throat.

apore(n), **apure(n)**, spittle.

apu, sleep; *rapu*, see G. N. § 23.

apu(n), a man's sister's son. See p. 10.

aran, person of the highest caste. See p. 8.

aranak, in the beginning, first of all.

aras, see loi 1.

aru 1, much, many, long (e.g. of hair); usually with prefix *a-*: *aaru* (lit. which is much, are many etc.); *(n)(a)aru lik*, more, much more, very much, very or

more numerous, longer, very long; (*n*)(*a*)*aru tanau*(*n*), very (exceedingly) much (numerous); *ta*(*a*)*aru*, not much (many), less.

aru 2, say, speak, answer; *aru la*, say to; *rohiraru*, they discuss (quarrel), discussing (quarrelling); *naru*, pl. *raru*, may be used as a colon, like Mal. *katanja*, e.g. *nipeha mega naru la mamanehira go naru*, he was furious and told the men saying; *nanaru*, what he says, advice (see *a*).

asar, liana.

asik, throw; (*hira*)*rasik*, they throw (G. N. § 21).

asū, see *sō*.

asu, dog; *asu'utu*, flee, dog-lice.

asuain, **esuain**, village-chief in wartime, war-chief.

asuk, escort.

asuran, lasting peace, blood-brotherhood; the alliance known by the name of *pela* in Amb. Mal. See 48. 35 ff.

ata, human being; this word is used in certain cases only, two of which are to be found in the texts, viz. *ata mate*, corpse, ghost, and *ata laik eha*, stranger.

ate(*n*), liver.

atja, **atje**, there is; *natja*(*ma*), *natja*(*la*), there is enough for, equal or proportional in number or quantity to; *ta natja*(*la*, *ma*), not enough for etc. See G. N. § 31.

atji, **etji**, thereupon, then; *atji atji*, occasionally; *natji*, *netji*, thereupon, then; followed by an adjective or other noun stem it expresses that the state indicated by that noun has been reached; e.g. *natji air*, grown up. See also *hahata*, *haun*, and G. N. § 30.

Aturun, the island of *Kambing*; a man from that island (Text VII).

au, see *ao*.

a'uk, take away.

a'ur, lime.

B

badjar, pay, probably it is only used in the expression *badjar kuratun*, pay tax, the common word for pay being *pais*.

balak, see *raha*.

bañku, bench (G. N. § 5).

Belu, name of a garden or garden-complex in the territory of Erai (Text VI).

ben, cadaverous fluid.

biñko, squinting.

Birkai, an inhabitant of *Lirang* (Text XIV).

Biwai, name of a watering-place in the region opposite the island *Redjung* (Text III).

D

deus, ancestor-figure (G. N. § 5).

djadi, be able to (probably Mal. *djadi*).

djaga, be on one's guard for, look out for, watch, guard; govern (G. N. § 5).

djagai, waringin.

djagan, trade; *djadjagan*, see *osa*.

djala, damar, damar-torch. Cp. *iawēn*.

djalenahun, spider.

Djam, the island *Damar* (Text X).

djapu, basket.

dje 1, West, western.

dje 2, oil.

Djeka, name of a chief from the mountain-region of *Esulit* (Text VII).

djela, on, on top of, above, on high; it is also used to indicate anything that is on high, as e.g. top, mountain, sky. So *djela ge* may mean: on top of this, above this place, or: this mountain, this top etc.; *la djela*, above, on high; *nai(n) djela*, from above, down from; *oni djela*, up. See also G. N. § 30.

djenela, window-opening (G. N. § 5).

djendja, fine (penal sum); *madjen-dja*, to fine (see G. N. § 23).

djilat, lightning.

djök, hide; *madjök*, to hide; *madjadjök*, who wanted to hide themselves (see G. N. §§ 4, 23, 29).

Djorai, name of a lineage and the ancient dwelling-place of the people of *Esulit* (= *Sorai*?) (Text VII).

djuhik, scratch, scrape.

djuiporo, crab.

djulak, see *kuru(n)*.

djulu, East, eastern.

Djuruain, Tjuruain, name of a village (Texts II, VIII).

E

ē, or.

ean, see *manu*.

edja, kill; *edja nara(n)*, run amok (lit. kill brothers and sisters).

eha, one, some, a certain; only, alone; other, e.g. *la ili eha*, in another village, in other villages (in contrast with *la iliralan*, in one's own village); *ito eha riun*, another man's wife; about, e.g. *ton halima eha*, about five years; the same, e.g. *leo eha go*, that same day; *eha eha*, each separate(ly), each for himself, e.g. *la eha eha tea*, in each one's garden; *eha ta hala eha*, none whosoever. See also G. N. § 15.

ehe(n), see *ihi(n)*.

ehun, fart (verb and subst.).

ek, coire.

ekun, spinning-top.

ene(n), property, ownership; used as an emphatic possessive suffix.

enian, bamboo vessel.

eniñ, watch over, guard.

enu 1, drink; *renu*, they drink (G. N. § 21).

enu 2, turtle.

enu 3, bead; *enu la poka(r)*, necklace; *enurare*, ground-beads, "aggri"-beads, in Amb. Mal. called *mutitana* (Mal. *mutia tanah*).

Eputi, name of a place between *Esulit* and *Kara* (Text XIII).

ēr, water, river, place where there is water; *ērhana(n)*, river; *ērkanan*, mouth of a river; *ērmata(n)*, source, spring; *ēr tatarik*, urine (cp. *tarik*).

Erai, Perai, name of a village on the West-coast of Wetar (Texts V, XI, XXII).

erak, wait, await, wait for; *erak nahu*, wait a moment (lit. wait first, cp. Mal. *nanti dulu*).

eran, get awake.

ērhana(n), see *ēr*.

erik, pour, pour out.
esa, ladder, post with steps cut in it.
esuain, see **asuain**.
Esulit, village on the northwest-coast of Wetar (Texts VI,

XIII, XVII).
eta, loincloth.
eti, axe.
etji, see **atji**.
euñ, milt.

G

gagan, witch, wizard.
gagatañ, see **ih(i)**.
gagu, (nightly) dark.
gai, may be (G. N. § 31).
gai(n), depart, start.
gais, loudly exclaim ah! in accosting the earth-spirits.
galas, feel, grope.
gale, get up, rise.
Galigau, the island Alor (Text V).
gan, vegetable food, especially rice; *gañlati(n)*, rice-milk; *gañ paputi*, white rice; *gañ rerera*, dry (solid) food.
gapa, ichthyosis (in Amb. Mal. called *kaskado*).
gape, a fruit: *mangifera indica* (Mal. *mangga*).
garak, angry, be angry; *garak lik*, furious, gallant in battle; *garak la*, angry with (but *la* may be omitted); *rohigarak*, they quarrel (G. N. § 24); *sarohigarak*, do not quarrel (G. N. § 26).
Garen, one of the ancestors of the people of *Erai* (Text XVIII).
garuk, beard.
gatun, soul of a living human being.
ge, this; demonstrative pronoun and postpositive article; *gemeha* (*ge-m-eha*), this only, only; *la ge*, here. See G. N. § 13.

gelon, hang, hanging; *gagelon*, who (which) is hanging (G. N. §§ 3, 29).
genu, throat; *genu'uti*, Adam's apple.
geras, dry, dried meat.
giris, needle.
go, that; demonstrative pronoun and postpositive article (G. N. § 13).
gogoi, sandfly: *ceratopogon* (Mal. *agas*).
gogu, thunder.
gole 1, broad, wide, roomy; *ta gole*, narrow, squeezey.
gole 2, give birth, be born; *gagole*, who gives birth, who is born (G. N. §§ 3, 29).
Goliwai, name of a lineage of *Napar* (Text IV).
golu, gulu, rafter.
Gomi, see (Ma)gomi.
goton, knock, beat.
gora, be boiling.
gui, scold, abuse.
guli, riddle; (*ma*)*rohiguli*, propose riddles (G. N. §§ 23, 24).
guna, use, be useful.
guran, *gurañ*, hole, cavern.
guriñ, industrious, diligent.
gurmali, ant.
gutan, brains. See also **ai 1**.

H

ha, loincloth.
ha'ak, see **ak**.
hadjak, Mal. *adat*.

haga, seek, look for; also: ask for, tease to get something.
haha, carry (on head or back);

hahasō, carry down (G. N. § 4).
hahata, female (of human beings), woman; *hatahata*, *hahatahata*, *hahata hahata*, women; *hahata anan*, little girl; *anan hahata*, daughter; *hahata ina ama*, the woman's mother and father; *hahata natji air*, adolescent girl (past puberty).
hahau, see *hau*.
hahau(n), see *hau(n)*.
hahek, old woman, married woman with children.
haheli, see *heli*.
haheo, see *heo*.
haherun, new; not until, not before.
hahi, pig, pork; *hahi hui*, wild boar; *hahi mamera*, red pig; *ha(hi)tjoñ*, pigsty.
Hahikilun, name of a place between *Napar* and *Esulit* (Text IV).
hahoa, see *hoa*.
hahopan, see *hopan*.
hahuru, spoon.
hahutu, see *hutu*, *loi*.
hai, climb, ascend; *hai la ai*, climb a tree; *hai la kruhun*, climb a mountain; *hai loi*, embark; *hai oni*, ascend to, sail to (always from sea to land or from a smaller to a larger island); *hai oni djela*, climb up; *hai oni raha*, climb up to the house; *hai tjoï pair*, sail (or paddle) upstream; *hai* is evidently used with or without prefix *a-* (also: *o-*) (plur. *ra-*, *ro-*) no semantic difference whatever being perceptible; thus the forms *nihai*, *nahai*, *nohai*, *ninahai*, *ninohai* all mean: he climbs, ascends. See G. N. §§ 4, 21.
haik, landwards. Cp. *hai*.
Hailua, name of a cape or promontory on the west-coast of Wetar opposite the island *Redjung*.

hain 1, father's sister. See p. 10.
hain 2, part of (a group of people); *hain ... hain*, part ... the rest; also *ito hain*, *hirahain*.
ha'itu, see *itu*.
h(a)la, what, something; *hala eha*, something; *hala hala ge*, these things; *ta hela eha*, nothing; *eha ta hala eha*, nobody whosoever, e.g. *eha ta nanau hala eha*, nobody whosoever knew; (*nohi*)-*hala*, why; *ta nohi hala eha*, doesn't do anything, it doesn't matter; *noro hala*, because; *hala tataha*, plantation (see *taha*).
 Cp. also G. N. §§ 14, 15.
halas, repay, revenge.
halik, back, go back, return; again; *halihalik*, go back again; *halikega*, again.
halima, see *lima*.
halu, widow(er); *halulukun*, trousers (lit. widow-legs or widower-legs).
hamitjai, sweet potato.
hañ, sell.
hana(n), branch. Cp. *ai* 1, *ēr*.
Hanasa, name of a river (Text XIV).
hanen, see *nen*.
hapa, tread, trample; *hapa reha*, thresh rice by treading.
hara, carry (on shoulder).
harak, West, western; *harak Aturun*, South (lit. West Kambing).
hari, who. See G. N. §§ 14, 15.
haru, jacket with long sleeves; *haru hahata*, woman's dito; *haru mamane*, men's dito.
Haru, one of the subjects of *Matema*, son of *Seman*, one of the ancestors of *Napar* (Text IV).
harua, see *rua*.
hata 1 = *hahata*.
hata 2 in *hata ina*, thumb, big toe;

hata kana, little finger, little toe.
hatele, see *telu*.
hatu 1, cough.
hatu 2, stone, rock; cape; *hatu hatu*, stones, pebbles; *haturin*, master of stones, master of the rock, stone spirit (Text XVII); *hatu-taran*, anchor; *hatu'upun* = *haturin*.
Hatuletji, name of a cape on Redjung (Text III).
Hatutau, a place on the southwest coast of Wetar (Text XIII).
hau 1, cut, till the ground; *hau tea*, till the garden.
hau 2, hibiscus-tree; also: *hau'un*.
hau(n), good, allowed, healthy, feeling well; peace, safety; *hahau(n)*, who is good, being good (G. N. § 3); *tahahau(n)*, bad being, criminal; *laloa hahau(n)*, farewell, pleasant journey; *mohihahau(n)*, take care! mind! (G. N. § 24); *natji hau(n)*, healed, recovered (cp. *atji*); *ohihahau(n)*, improve; *rohirahau(n)*, making peace, they make peace; *marahau(n)*, to make peace. See G. N. §§ 4, 21, 24.
hea, crocodile.
heak, see *ne*, *ohik*.
hean, oar; row; *mahean*, to row (G. N. § 23).
hehi, lie on one's back.
hekega, again; cp. *halikega* (s.v. *halik*).
heki, bat (the animal).
hela, decade. See G. N. § 10.
hele, unfold, open, spread out; cp. *pasuk*.
heli, property, valuable things; *haheli*, valuable, rich, with fruit-trees or other durable plants (of gardens) (G. N. § 3).
helik, sacrificial table.

heliā, price, marriage-gift (paid to the bride's people); *heltri air*, dear, expensive; *ta heltri*, cheap.
hene(n), night, nightly dark; in chronology it is often used for the space of 24 hours and also for time in general, e.g. *henen sanulu ge natji amigai*, ten days hence we shall leave; *hene(n) ira*, formerly; *hene hene*, every night; *hene(n) mega*, it is dark (night) already; *hene hene leo leo*, night and day; *hene(n) eha go*, that same night, that very night; *henrua*, the day before yesterday, the day after to-morrow.
heo, call; *heo la*, call to; *heo ramutu*, *heo tjas*, call together; *haheo*, who calls, calling (the act of calling); *maheo*, *magoheo*, who calls, caller, the act or office of calling. See G. N. §§ 23, 29.
herak, heavy.
here, distribute, divide, separate; *marohihere*, to divide, separate; *rohihere*, they divide (things among a number of people), they separate (e.g. after a meeting). See G. N. §§ 23, 24.
heren, rim, border, margin; *la niheren*, beside him, near him, at his house, to his house.
heru, plait hair.
heta, cleave.
hetan, millet.
hetenkurun, head-cloth. Cp. *kurun* and G. N. § 2.
heti, ask (for information), request; *heti nai*, request from; *heti sarin*, *dun* (demand debt); *heti turu*, bargain, beat down the price.
hetu, touch.
heu, lie down, be lying down.
hia, hold, take along with one; *hiala*, take along (G. N. § 4);

- hia loi*, sail, go by boat; *hiama loi*, come by boat, *hiama*, bring (G. N. § 4); *hia kutjuhiuk*, steer.
hian, grease, fat (subst.).
hilu, cassave.
hini, seed-rice.
hira, they, their, them. See G. N. §§ 7, 16.
hoa, marry (man or woman); *rohihoa*, they marry; *rohihahoa*, who (plur.) marry, when people marry, marriage (G. N. §§ 24, 29); *ta hahoa*, unmarried, not yet married.
hogir, put on (a dress).
hoho(n), above, on top. Cp. *huhun* and G. N. § 30.
hok, take up; *hok oni djela*, lift up.
hoki, ladle out, serve up.
hole, explore, reconnoitre; *hole hole*, wander about, travel.
honⁿ, *hon(o)*, small, stench; rot, rotten.
hopan, order, send (on an errand); *hopan raloahaga*, send to go and seek (G. N. §§ 4, 21); *hahopan*, who sends, who is sent (G. N. § 29); *rohihopan*, they send (order) each other (G. N. § 24).
hopo, basket (any kind that is called *bakul* in Mal.). Cp. *horon*.
hopu, feed (by putting food into somebody's mouth).
hora, breathe.
horon, basket (any kind that is called *kerandjang* in Mal.).
horu, bark (of a dog).
hotu, rise (of sun, moon or stars).
hu, strong.
hua 1, take up.
hua 2, sharpened bamboo.
huanⁿ, fruit; *mahuaⁿ*, bear fruit (G. N. § 23).
huan, heart, cardiac region, breast.
huhu, fish-trap made chiefly of bamboo.
huhun, mountain, hill, heap. Cp. *hoho(n)*.
hui, forest, used only in connection with beings living in the forest, e.g. *hahi hui*, wild boar (G. N. § 2).
huk, come out, appear.
huki, see *hoki*.
hulan, moon, month; *hulan djoko kapan*, moon-eclipse (lit. moon hides in a cover).
hulin, ear (of rice etc.).
hulu, torch.
hulu(n), hair (on the body), feather (cp. *manu*), thatch of palm-leaves (Mal. *atap*, cp. *raha*).
hun, huⁿ, forest; *la hun*, in (to) the forest.
huna, flower; also: *aihuna* (cp. ai 1).
hunu, enemy; *hunurin*, army, multitude of armed followers.
hurtoke, a kind of lizard.
huta, dress; to present with clothes, personal ornaments etc., e.g. for a dowry.
huti, a tuberous plant, tuber: colocasia (Mal. *keladi*).
hutu, tie; *hahutu*, tying, who ties (has been tied) (G. N. § 29); *hutu'uluhori*, prisoner of war.
hutus, broken, e.g. of a piece of string.

I

- iawēn*, Damar-tree. Cp. *djala*.
ihi(n), *ehe(n)*, contents, body; rice out of the ear; *ihi gagatañ*, scurf, itch; *ihi haun*, health(y); *ihi lapan*, thigh; *ihi mani*, framboesia (see *mani*).

iku, tail.

ili(n), village; *ilihun*, skirt of the village; *iliralan*, village population; *ili tjahi*, government village (lit. coast-village) i.e. the village built on the coast by order of the Government, in contradistinction of the real village or the dwelling-places in the gardens inland; *la iliralan*, in one's own village; *la ili eha*, in another village, in other villages. See G. N. §§ 2, 15.

ilin, see **loi** 1.

iliralan, see **ili(n)**.

Il(i)waki, name of a village on Alor (according to Text V); the present-day chief village of Wetar, on the south-coast, is also called *Il(i)waki*.

īⁿ, yes.

ina(n), mother, mother's sister, and the other female members of mother's lineage and generation. See p. 10.

inan(e), female (of animals).

ira, see **hene(n)**.

iran, roof of the mouth, gums.

iri, bench to sit or lie down on.

irik, lead (by the hand).

isi(n), altogether, wholly; *isi(n)-isi(n)*, absolutely, exceedingly.

isu, tumour, ulcer.

ita, we, our, us (inclus.). See G. N. §§ 7, 16.

jako, see **tina(n)**.

joar, to-morrow; also: *joar ge*.

ka, pronom. prefix of the first pers. plur. (incl.). See G. N. § 22.

kadjeri, wall.

ka'eha(n), one of two sides. Cp. **keha**.

(i)to(n), human being, people;

(i)to(n) (a)aru, the multitude, the common people, the other people (in contrast to a chief or some other dignitary as *namo'-upun, lalaik* etc.); *(i)to(n) hahata*, woman; *(i)to(n) hahopan*, messenger (somebody who is sent) (G. N. § 29); *(i)to(n) hain*, part of the people; *(i)to(n) hira*, the people, the followers; *(i)to(n) ili eha*, an inhabited village (lit. some village belonging to people); *(i)to(n) iliralan*, the people of the village, village population; *(i)to(n) mamane*, man (in contrast to woman); *(i)to(n) (ma)-mate*, dead human being, deceased; *(i)to(n) (ma)mori*, living human being, man in general; *(i)to(n) natjiair*, young man (see **atji**); *(i)to(n) raha*, the members of the lineage, e.g. *niton raha go*, the people of his lineage; *to pu tamia*, there is nobody; *to pu halima go*, those five men. It is possible that *topu* is another word for human being, compounded of *to* and *pu* (?), but it is also possible that *pu* is a particle.

itu, seven, usually with prefix *ha-*; *ha'itu*. See G. N. § 10.

iu, shark.

J

jokak, to winnow.

K

kaha 1, wing (of a bird).

kaha 2, make noise, noisy, noisily.

kahalik, look back.

kahalilin, arm-pit.

kahan, mouth (of man or animal).

opening of a basket etc.; *kahan-ralan*, inner part of the mouth.
kai, fixed, stiff, hard, taut, stuck fast; avaricious; *ta kai*, loose, soft etc.; open-handed.
Kaila, one of the ancestors of the people of *Esulit* (Texts I and VII).
kaila, a kind of legume.
Kainsaku, a man from the village *Il(i)waki* on Alor (Text V).
kaisarun, sirih-bowl.
kakalu 1, see *kalu*.
kakalu 2, a sack or bag made of imported cloth.
kakehen, carrying-cloth. Cp. *kehe* and G. N. § 29.
kaki, butterfly.
kaklain, quick(ly), fast.
kakorás, girdle, waist-band.
kakrota, dirt, refuse; *kakrotahuhun*, refuse-heap.
kala, *kalu*, strike, beat (with a stick); *kakalu*, who beats (is beaten); also: beat repeatedly.
kalaha, hair-comb; also: *kelaha*.
kalapak, tongs, pincers.
kalau, shield.
kali, dig.
k(a)luni, head-rest, pillow.
k(a)lusun, nail, claw.
kamar, small room (Mal. *kamar*, Holl. *kamer*).
kamariu, sago; *kamariuhapan*, sago leaf-stalks used for walls (called *gaba gaba* in Mal.); *kamariu'un*, sago palm-tree.
kana, see *hata* 2.
kanolen, probably: a place enclosed by a wooden fence where pigs are roasted.
kapak, break to pieces; broken.
kapán, cover, sheath.
kapén, large basket.
kapuan, cucumber.

kapun, belly; *kapun peu*, (have) belly ache.
kapurua, see *ana(n)*.
Kara, village of one of the ancestors (*Seman*) of Napar (Text IV); village in South-Wetar (Text XIII).
karak, like, desire, be in love with; *rohikarak*, they are in love with each other (G. N. § 24).
Karapais, one of the ancestors of the people of (*Ili*)*mamau* (Text X).
Karia, work (Mal. *kerdja*?).
karima, something sent to somebody, message (Mal. *kiriman*?).
karipik, see *loi* 1.
karkara, trouble, affair, especially: adultery; *nohi karkara*, he is having an affair, he is making trouble (G. N. § 24); Mal. *perkara*.
karnain, breast.
karoi, chin.
karoisuk, see *opisun*.
karuha, see (a)*karuha*.
karutju, cooking-bamboo.
kasarea(n), white ant.
kasian, poor, pitiable (Mal. *kasihan*).
kasuan, stick used for making seed-holes.
Kasura, name of a man from the island *Kambing* (Text VII).
katahe(n), winnow.
kati 1, see *ti*.
kati 2, break, be broken; *namkati*, it was broken, it broke down.
katji, whetstone; grind; *katji nes*, file teeth.
(ka)tjuak, lump of steamed or cooked rice, millet, or maize, packed in plaited cover (Mal. *ketupat*).
ka'uk, sew.

- kawai(r)**, **kuai(r)**, afterbirth.
kawan, thick (of cloth).
ke, pick up (e.g. a leaf from the ground, lice from somebody's head).
keha, other side (e.g. of a river); cp. **kaeha(n)**, pair.
kehe, carry (in a carrying-cloth).
keku, calabash, gourd.
kelaha, see **kalaha**.
kelapak, cockroach.
kele, deep (of water); *takele*, shallow.
kelin, pumpkin (with red flesh and black stones).
kemoani, fore-finger.
keo, carry (with the hanging hand).
kepi, carry (under the armpit).
kero, distract ceremonially, lay a taboo on (called *sasi* in Amb. Mal.).
kerok, see **lima**.
kerpau, domesticated buffalo (Mal. *kerbau*).
ketjan, *ketjan*, pandan.
kima, shell-fish.
kini, ear; *kin(i)pun*, deaf; *kin(i)-ron*, concha (lit. ear-leaf); *kin(i)tên*, earwax.
kiris, carry on one's back (by means of a head- or shoulder-strap).
kisin, see **loi** 1.
klaka, afterbirth (?).
klar, hunger, starvation.
klara, charcoal.
kleman, sweat.
klen, lazy, careless, forgetful.
kliku, crooked.
Klisana, a village that has been in war with *Tjuruain* (Text II); a village to which moved the son of *Seman*, one of the ancestors of *Napar*, after the latter's death (Text IV).
klohir, side, flank.
klulu, knee.
kluni, see **k(a)luni**.
klusun, hoof.
klutu, grave.
klutun, piece, lump.
knala, boundary; *knala noro*, border on.
knanama, tie.
knanan, remember, think of, intend.
knehun, mortar (for rice-pounding).
knén, intestine, gut.
(k)nóhi, **(k)nuhi**, cloth; it seems to be used for both imported and home-made cloth, but *(k)nóhi air* means: *home-made sarung*.
ko, throw to pieces.
koa, carry (on the hip).
koho, cough.
kohu, pluck, cull.
koi, **kui**, take up.
kola, gardens where bees make their nests.
kolak, small-pox.
kole, stir (liquids).
kolen, imported striped cloth (said to be Japanese).
kona, doorway.
konu, to swallow.
kopa, **kopo**, envelop, shroud.
kopak, lake, pond, swamp.
kopo, see **kopa**.
kora, embrace.
kosa, eat (animal food), bite.
kose, whet, sharpen.
kra, light (not heavy).
krahan 1, hamlet of garden huts.
krahan 2, rib (in the body).
krai, maize; **kraipun**, maize-spirit, maize-priest. See p. 27.
krakak, lean (adj.).
krakon, see **lima**.
krapa(ma), besides (?).
krapan, lungs.
krarak, gravel.

kratja(k), platforms in a boat. See p. 31.

krau, plate, bowl; *krau krenu*, drinking-bowl.

kresen, shallow (e.g. of a plate or bowl); dry place or shoal in sea or river.

krō, hollow of the knee.

krosa, coral-reef.

krotja, be paralysed.

kruhun, mountain.

ku 1, pinch.

ku 2, steal.

kua, weep, bemoan, lament; whine, mew etc.

kuai(r); see *kawai(r)*.

kuali, frying-pan (Mal.).

kuau, young bamboo-shoot.

Kuhus, place-name (Text XI).

kui 1, see *koi*.

kui 2, flute of bamboo.

kuleo, grass-hopper.

kumu, spherical.

kuna, curcuma (saffron).

kupai, fire-fly.

kupi, wild pisang.

kur, cigarette.

kuratun, head, skull.

kur(u)djulak, see *kuru(n)*.

kuri, harvest; *makuri*, to harvest (G. N. § 23).

kurnain, see *kuru(n)*.

kuru(n), head; *kur(u)(n)djulak*, top of the head; *kuru(n)pare*, bald; *kuru(n)rōn*, hair of the head; *kur(u)nain*, nose; *kur(u)-nainguran*, nostril; *kurutoin*, skull, captured head.

kusan, navel; *kusantalin*, umbilical cord.

kusi, large earthenware jar.

kutjuhiuk, rudder. See p. 31.

kwea, outriggerboom. See p. 31.

L

la 1, in, at, on, to; *lanige*, here, now (connected with the first person); *lanigo*, there, then (connected with the second or third person); *lame*, where. See G. N. § 30.

la 2, see *loi 1*.

la 3, see *ma*.

la 4, also *ala* (G. N. § 4), go, travel; stay, reside; follow, go by; *lala*, who goes etc., going; *lama*, stay in, at; go to (cp. *lama*, *ma 1*); *lanō*, leave behind (cp. *nō* and G. N. § 4); *la halik*, return, go home; *lamohik*, fetch (G. N. § 4); *la ra*, stay (go) on the land, also: *lama rara* (cp. *lama*); *ladjōk*, hide oneself (lit. go hide, see G. N. § 4).

ladji, see *latji*.

lagu, custom, behaviour, sort, nature; *lagu lagu*, customs; vari-

ous, all kinds of; *lagu radja*, good behaviour, goodness.

lahar, imported *sarung*, woven on Kisar.

Laho, name of a locality somewhere opposite the island Redjung (Text IV).

lai, rim, border, mountain-slope.

lahuk, pick, pull off, pluck off.

laik 1, jump down.

laik 2, old, especially used as a kind of title for the elder, leading men of standing in a village community; village elders or chiefs; also: *lalaik*; (*la*)*laik ili*, village elders; in the plur. sometimes *laik lalaik*.

lain, mother's brother; *olainhira*, your mother's brothers (G. N. §§ 6, 7).

lakako, owl.

laku, civet-cat (called *musang* in Mal.).

lakudjunu, nipah-palm.

lakupera, rice-bird (called *djelatik*, *djelantik* in Mal.).

Lakutene, name of a war-chief of *Klisana* (Text II).

lalaik, see *laik*.

lalalan, see *no*.

lalan, see *ralan* 1.

lalaru, consume (of fire).

lale, fly; *lale mera*, a kind of reddish drone-fly.

laleli, see *leli*.

laloa, see *aloo*.

laluli, see *luli*.

lama, be, stay somewhere; *lamanigo*, is there, stays there; *lamaralan*, is inside; *lama ra ra* (= *lama la ra*), stay on the land, travel by land; *lama tjahiralan*, stay in or on the sea; occasionally *lama* is used as a preposition, e.g. *tamon lama tjahige*, bury on this beach.

lamohon, **lemohon**, towards evening (the time called *hampir malam* in Mal.); cp. *mohon*.

lapa(n), see *ihi(n)*.

lār, a beetle that destroys the coco-trees.

lara, to fish.

laran, see *ai* 1.

lari, flee, run away; *manu lalari*, a bird flying up (G. N. § 29).

Laruru, name of an earth-spirit (Text XV); earthquake.

lasar, penis; *lasaruhar*, testicle.

lasu, mouse.

lata, time, point of time; *latanigo*, at the time, then; *nōma lalata*, for ever and ever (cp. *nō*).

latela(r), rifle; *latelarahun*, gun-powder.

lati(n), mash, porridge; *latinēr*, liquid food. See also *gañ*.

latji 1, **ladji**, cut, cut down, slash, kill with a knife or cutlass (in this meaning often, but necessarily, followed by *mate*, dead); *latji ai*, fell a tree.

latji 2, **latjon**, sirih-bag.

lau(n), silver, gold; more especially: silver, whereas *lau(n) mara* is a special word for: gold; *lau(n)*, however, is used for both silver ear-drops and the heirlooms of gold (called *mas bulan* in Mal.) which play an important rôle in marriage-transactions.

le, gourd, calabash.

lea, put away, stow away; more especially: embark (persons or things), which is also expressed by: *lea la loi*.

lega(r), top (of mountain, tree etc.).

Legur, name of an inhabitant of *Erai* (Text VI).

leguran, **legurañ**, arse; afraid, coward(ly).

lehun, dry season.

lek, in the middle; *lek lo(r)*, in the middle of the sea, on the high seas.

leka, carry (on the shoulder).

leli, fell (trees), hew; *leli loi*, perform the preparatory labour for making a dug-out (the felling and splitting of a tree); *malaleli loi*, want (be going) to prepare the making of a dug-out. See G. N. §§ 23, 29.

lelui, coccyx.

Lemaa, **Lemar**, name of a village (Texts II, VIII).

lemusan, trouble, affair; especially: adultery; *nōhi lemusan*, he is having an affair, he is making

- trouble; *ito raro hi lemusan*, the people who are having an affair (who are making trouble) (G. N. §§ 24, 29).
- lĕn*, backside, underside; e.g. *la rahalĕn go*, under that house; *la rihuklĕn go*, under that bench; *lĕntahun*, backside, underside.
- lena'uk*, fumigate, smoke-dry.
- Leo**, a nobleman (*Aran*) from *Kara* in South-Wetar (Text XIII).
- leo**, sun, day; time, lifetime; *leo leo*, daily; *leo djoko kapan*, sun-eclipse (lit. moon hides in a cover); *leo eha ge*, this same day; *leo eha go (tjoi)*, that same day; *leo hala*, when (interrog.); *leo mata hatelu*, three days (cp. *mata*); *nileo ta heo*, during his lifetime he did not call.
- Le(o)walu**, name of one of the two bee-spirits (Text XVIII); name of the spirit of a house-post (Text VIII). Cp. *Tja(h)iwalu*, *To(n)ala*.
- lero**, terrify.
- lesone**, onion.
- leta**, frog.
- lete**, run round (something).
- lete(n)**, mountain.
- leu**, round, surround.
- leun**, valley.
- leur**, wasp.
- Lewalu**, see **Le(o)walu**.
- lewi**, roast, fry.
- li 1**, laugh (at).
- li 2**, affair, matter.
- li'**, **lik**, to a higher degree, more, very; (**a**)**aru lik**, more numerous, very numerous, longer, very long, more, very much, most; *age lik*, be longing for (lit. remember very much).
- lia**, ginger.
- lian**, hole, cave.
- ligu**, tie (verb).
- liguk**, cluster (of fruits).
- lihu(r)** 1, hunt, hunting (without dog); *rohi(ma)lihu(r)*, they hunt (G. N. §§ 23, 24).
- lihu(r)** 2, outside, come out, go away, take out; also *ap(a)lihu(r)*, e.g. *nap(a)lihu(r)*, he comes out etc.; *amirap(a)lihu(r)*, we come out (go away) etc.
- lik**, see **li'**.
- likama'a**, stammer.
- lilin**, bee-wax.
- lilus**, circular, cylindrical.
- lima**, five, usually with prefix *ha-* (G. N. § 10); hand, arm with hand; *lima'akon*, finger-ring; *limakapañ*, upper-arm (= *kapan*, cover?); *limakerok*, arm-ring; *limakrakon*, finger; *limapekun*, palm of the hand; *limatanĕn*, pulse; *lima'urak*, lines in the palm of the hand.
- li(n)**, voice, sound of the voice; to sound; *li(n) peke*, hoarse; *li(n)-tamia*, dumb (lit. there is no voice).
- lipa**, imported cotton cloth, striped or checkered (not flowered). It is called *kain lipa* (Mal. *lipat*, fold?) in Tim. and Amb. (?) Mal.
- lir**, voice, language, speech.
- Lirañ**, the island *Lirang* (Text XIV).
- lisan**, see **utu**.
- litjun**, see **raha**.
- liu 1**, hear.
- liu 2**, back, back part; *la niliu*, behind him; *la hiraliiu*, behind them; *nalaliiu* (= *nai la liu*), from behind, afterwards.
- lo**, see **lo(r)**.

loañ, hang up to dry.

lodjan, large plate, bowl. See G. N. § 5.

logor, loose, wide (e.g. of clothing).

loho, hut in field or garden.

lohu, cleave, chop to pieces.

loi 1, boat; *loi'ailaran*, mast (tripod); *loi anan*, small boat; *loi'aras*, prow; *loi hahutu*, large sailing-boat; *loihatutara*, anchor; *loihatutaralin*, anchor-tow; *loi-heañ*, oar; *loi'ilin*, steering-paddle, rudder; *loi'inan*, large boat; *loikaripik*, wash-strake of lontar-palm leaf; *loikisin*, small dug-out without sailing-apparatus; *loikwea*, outrigger-boom; *loikratjak*, deck (platform) of bamboo; *loila*, sail of lontar-palm leaf; *loiliu*, stern; *loinagoana*, raised platform on the stern; *loirin*, crew; *loiselak*, spars of the sail; *loisemañ*, outrigger-float; *loituras*, the ends of prow and stern; *loiwese*, paddle. See also p. 31.

loi 2, open, loosen, undo.

loin, tired.

lok, friend, comrade.

Loko, name of a village-chief (Text I).

lole, rest, lie down; *lole pa nikaputn*, lie prostrate. Cp. pa 1.

loloñ, right, just; *raloloñ*, order,

regulate, settle, they settle, regulate (G. N. § 4).

lolon, is used as a numeral classifier in connection with human beings and various kinds of objects, e.g. *to lolon halima*, five people; *ai lolon hatelu*, three pieces of wood; *lipa lolon harua*, two pieces of (imported) cotton cloth; *tē lolon haak*, four spears; *malu lolon hanen*, six pieces (fruits) of sirih; *kur lolon ha'itu*, seven cigarettes. See G. N. § 11.

lo(r), sea; *la lo(r)*, on the sea, at sea; *la lo(r) ge* is also used for: the anchorage here, this bay here.

lorik, put down, lay down.

loso, fish with a spear.

lua, cajuput-tree.

lui = **loi**.

luku(n), leg (human or animal); *lukunikun*, heel; *lukunkapun*, sole; *lukunnea(r)*, footprint; *lukuntina*, foot; *lukunutur*, shin (cp. *utur*).

luli(n), sacred, taboo; *laluli(n)*, who is sacred, sacred interdiction or prescription (G. N. § 3).

lumuk, moss.

lupu(r), bark-cloth.

lusi(ma), like, the same as. About *ma* see G. N. §§ 23, 31 and *ma* 3.

lutu(r), pile up.

M

ma 1, come; also auxiliary verb expressing near future, intention or exhortation; in many cases it is to be translated with: that ... may, in order to, e.g. *ma lage*, come here; *mamate*, going to die; *amima ra mega*, we want to eat now (already); *ma mega katau mega sepaki*, let us break up now;

maka ra, let us eat (cp. *ka*); *suri ninaran mahoa*, gave his sister in marriage (to be married); *ma ita hatelu katur-tjas*, that we three may live together; *ma la* (lit. come go, come to) is sometimes used instead of: *la ma*, e.g. *hira rua ma la oso ani go*, the two of them went to cut out that bee-

nest; *ma la raha* and *la ma raha* may both mean "stay at home" or "go home". See G. N. § 23.
ma 2, auxiliary expressing temporal or modal dependence, usually translatable with "when" or "if", e.g. *amima otjo*, when we see; *amima nō*, if we gave it up; *nimateha*, if he accepts. Probably this *ma* is identical with **ma 1**. G. N. §§ 23, 29.

ma 3, a particle of very vague meaning, which apparently may be used or omitted at will. In some cases it is translated with Mal. *akan*, e.g. when it seems to introduce the patients, but in that case too it is left out quite as often as not without any perceptible difference of meaning. In other cases it may be rendered by: as, serving as. A few examples *tjua(ma) aimorin*, light a fire; *eha eha nohi (ma) niene(n)*, each makes his own; *hia (ma) loi*, carry a boat (travel in a boat); *aomahutu paputi ge la olima ma tandja*, I'll tie this piece of white cloth to your hand as a token (mark). Also in *lusi (ma)*, *krapa (ma)*, *nai (ma)*, *natja (ma)*, *noro (ma)*, *ratan (ma)*. Occasionally *la* is used instead of *ma*, as in *noro la ni*, with him; *natja la ito iliralan*, according to the (number of) people in the village. This *la* may be a dialectic variant as it occurs in a text from *Esulit* only. See also G. N. §§ 23, 31.

ma 4, postpositive particle of uncertain meaning, perhaps identical with *ma 3*; e.g. *mia ma*, actually is there, is still there (?); *rakawari ma*, they are just making

noise (fun); *ka'erak ma lage*, let us just wait (for him) here (instead of going to meet him). See also G. N. § 31.

Madjar, the Wetar name of *Butun*, a small island to the West of Alor (Text I).

Magain, son of *Maganu(n)*, one of the ancestors of *Esulit* (Text XIII).

Maganu(n), one of the ancestors of *Esulit* (Texts XIII and XVII).

magoheo, see *heo*.

(Ma)gomi, one of the ancestors of the people of Sorai (Text XII).

magotia, pregnant.

magotui, see *toi*, *tui*.

mahan, **mahaⁿ**, soft weak.

Mahemandjak, a man from *Tjuruain*, whom *Maleman* of *Lemaa* gave his sister *Pihuan* in marriage (Text II).

mahun, see *ai 2* and *ahun*.

mair, fat (of human beings, animals or objects).

makak, blood-sucker.

Makele, name (or title?) of the maize-priest (Text XVII).

Makerek, a war-chief of *Esulit* in olden times (Texts VII and XIII).

makmohun, see *akamohun*.

Malai, son of *Pihori*, ancestress of the people of *Napar* (Text III).

Malegu^r, a war-chief of *Esulit* in olden times (Text VII).

Maleman, an inhabitant of the village of *Lemaa* (*Lemar*) (Text II).

Malolik, friend of *Marupi* (brother-in-law of *Malai*, one of the ancestors of the people of *Napar*) (Text III).

malu, *sirih*.

Malutju, name of a watering-place on the island Lirang (Text XIV).

mama, chew sirih; *mama kur*, smoke cigarettes. The common word for "smoke" however is *moak*.

mamane, male (of human beings, cp. to *mamane*, men (in contrast to women); *ito Sorai mamane mamane*, the men of Sorai; *noro niton mamane mamane*, and (with) his men; *mamane natji air*, youth, young man; *riun mamane*, husband; instead of *mamane* also *mane*, e.g. *mane anan*, male child, little boy.

mamau, sick man; cp. *pipui*.

mamuk, empty.

mamuna, see *muna*.

mamusun, empty, used of gardens without fruit-trees or other durable plants; cp. *heli*.

mana, whetstone.

mane, see *mamane*.

mani, wound; *ohi mani*, to wound (G. N. § 24).

manu, bird, fowl; *manu aman*, cock; *manu anan*, small bird; *manu inan*, hen; *manu ean*, fowl; *manuhulun*, feathers; *manu kerpau*, crow; *manu moru*, bustard quail (called *pujuh* in Mal.); *manu oron*, heron (called *bangau* in Mal.).

manutelun, calf of the leg.

mara, see *lau(n)*.

marahin, yesterday.

mararohi, see *ohi*.

marohiguli, see *guli*.

marohite, see *te*.

marohi tea, see *tea*.

Maromak, Creator, Supreme Being (Text XIII).

maru, tame.

Marupi, brother-in-law of *Malai*

and husband of *Pikopa* (Text III).

masa, sigh.

Masaha, a war-chief of *Esulit* in olden times (Text VII).

masik, although.

masi(n), salt (subst.), saltish, briny.

masō, see *sō*.

masori, to angle (probably *ma-sori*, cp. G. N. § 23).

masun, continually, unceasingly.

matak, underdone (of food).

mata(n), eye; also numeral classifier with *leo*, day, e.g. *leo mata hatelu*, three days (G. N. § 10); *mata herak*, sleepy (lit. eye heavy); *matakrun*, eyebrows; *matanēr*, tears; *matanulit*, eyelid; *mata peke*, blind; *mata serik*, squint-eyed.

mate, die, dead; sleeping (of members of the body); *mate ēr*, be parched with thirst (to death); *mate klar*, starve, be starved; (*ata*) *mate nō*, burying-place (lit. dead stay, dead are left); *ma-mate*, who dies, going to die, who is dead, dead; *manimamate*, when he was going to die; *ito mamate*, many corpses. See also *ma* 1, 2 and G. N. §§ 23, 29.

Matema, son of *Seman*, one of the ancestors of the people of *Napar* (Text IV).

matepa, see *tapa*.

materi(k), see *teri(k)*.

Materi, son of *Garen*, one of the ancestors of *Erai* (Text XVIII).

mati, see *ti*.

matja, marsupial animal (called *kuskus* in Mal.).

Matja, name of a lineage of *Erai*, apparently the lineage of the ancestor *Naga* (Text V).

matjoi, see **tjoi**.

matunu, see **tunu**.

mawese, see **wese**.

me 1, which, where; also used as a general interrogative particle. See also G. N. § 14.

me 2, kiss.

mea, dried up, coagulated.

meak, fog, haze.

mega, an adverbial particle of manifold use, whose primary sense it is difficult to determine at present; it is often used with the meaning of "then", referring to what follows next, or of "already", referring to what has happened or has been done. In many cases its general function is to express emphasis, and it may be translated in different ways according to the situation, as: just, only, any more, altogether, perhaps, rather. See also G. N. §§ 27, 31.

meha, only, alone.

mekes, narrow.

mera, red; *mamera*, who is red, being red; *ana mera mera(s)*, little children, babies. See G. N. § 2.

mes, thin, slender.

meso, white.

meta(m), black.

meti 1, fish, also in contradistinction to meat.

meti 2, coral-reef.

metju, high, long; *mametju*, who is high (long), being high (long); *ta metju*, low, short. See G. N. § 2.

mi, you, your (plur.). See G. N. §§ 7, 16.

mia, there is (are); be present, stay; *ta mia*, there is (are) not; *ta mia mega*, it is already gone;

mamia, being, staying (somewhere), to be, stay (somewhere). Cp. G. N. § 29 and see also **temnia**.

nilan, slippery.

moak, smoke (cigarettes).

mohan, sour.

mohok, be flooded, sink away.

mohon, late afternoon (when it is near getting dark). Cp. **lamohon**.

moi, see **mui**.

moin, sand.

mokak, suck (of a baby).

mokis, suck.

monon, stupid.

mōr, right, truly, exactly; *mōr ma*, just only. Cp. G. N. § 31 and **ma 4**.

mori, live, alive, thrive, grow; *nimamori*, when he (it) is growing (has grown). Cp. G. N. § 23 and **ma 2**.

moro, see **oro**.

moru, see **manu**.

moson, raw, unripe.

moson, blue, green (identical with the foregoing word?).

mu, cultivated *pisang* (banana); *muhua*, banana (the fruit).

mua, eat up, consume (especially something delicious).

mui, **moi**, be willing, consent; *ta mui*, refuse; *omamui*, if you are willing. See **ma 2** and G. N. § 23.

muka, see **raha**.

mumu, iron, knife; *mumu puti*, *mumu meso*, white iron.

muna, first, before, earlier; *muna nahu*, first of all, in the very first place; *mamuna(go)*, *mumuna(go)*, before, formerly, in olden times; *nai mamuna*, from the beginning, from olden times, in the beginning, in olden times.

muri, later, afterwards, last; *na(i)-*

(*ma*)*muri*, later on, afterwards, last.

musan 1, kernel, stone (of fruits); also used as numeral classifier, e.g. *utan musan hatelu*, three beans. See also G. N. § 10.

musan 2, chop to pieces (viz. a killed animal). Cp. *oso* (?).

muta, vomit.

mutu, meet, come together; collect;

ma ramutu, come and meet (to meet); *hira(ra)mutu*, they meet, come together, collect. Apparently a plurale tantum. See also G. N. §§ 4, 21.

mutun, burn. Cp. *tunu*.

N

na 1, eat; plur. *ra*; *nimanana*, who wants to eat, that he wants to eat; *la na*, go and eat (sing.); *la ra*, go and eat (plur.); *rara* also: food; *ma ra*, come and eat plur.); *ra puhik*, eat up altogether; after having eaten. See G. N. §§ 21, 23, 29.

na 2, see *a*.

na 3, see *nai*.

nagamanus, smile (subst.); *ohi naga-manus*, to smile (G. N. § 24).

Naga, one of the ancestors of *Erai* (Texts I, V).

nagoana, see *loi* 1.

nahahulak, quite, altogether; *hira nahahulak*, all of them.

nahai, see *hai*.

nahu, *naho*, first (before doing anything else); *ta nahu*, not yet, e.g. *nita mate nahu*, he is not yet dead; *ta sō nahu*, not yet far. See also G. N. § 30.

naik, see *tjos*.

nai(n), **naima**, from; temporal: *nai amipaunhira*, from the times (occasionally: at the time) of our ancestors; *nai ma go*, from that time; local: *nai Madjar*, from *Madjar*; *o nai me*, from where (are) you; *nanai djulu*, who is from the East, the one from the East (G. N. § 29); made out of, e.g. *nai ai*, made of

wood; *nai paputi*, made of white cloth; *nai ... ratan*, from ... to; *heti nai*, ask from; in fast speech the *-i* may be dropped, e.g. *namuri* instead of *nai muri*, afterwards, last. See also G. N. § 30.

naimamuna, see *muna*.

nain, see *kuru(n)*.

naindjela, see *djela*.

nainoran, see *oran*.

nakadjoka, see *akadjoka*.

nakawari, see *akawari*.

nake, animal food (meat, fish).

nala, see *la* 4 and G. N. §§ 4, 21.

nalaliu, see *liu* 2.

nalu(n), provisions for a journey; *ohi nalu(n)*, prepare provisions.

namamuri, see *muri*.

namatua, grown up.

namkati, see *kati* 2.

namo(n), earth, field, garden, place, world; e.g. *namo ge*, this garden (field), this place, here; *namo(n) eha*, some garden (field), a certain place; *namo(n) sirak*, daylight; *namorin*, earth-spirit (lit. lord of the earth, land), as term of address: *namorino*; *namo'upun*, garden-priest who is also village-chief in peacetime.

namuri, see *muri*.

nañ, tongue.

naⁿ, see *tjahi*.

nana, love.

nanakon, luggage, goods.

nanaru, see **aru** 2.

nanau(n), see **nau(n)**.

nani, swim (?).

nanu, see **ai** 1.

Napar, village on the Northwest-coast of Wetar, opposite the island *Redjung* (Texts IV, XII, XXII).

nap(a)lihu(r), see **lihu(r)**.

naprohan, in bad shape, spoiled.

narai, almost; e.g. *narai nimamate*, when he was almost going to die, when he was near dying.

nara(n), a man's sister, a woman's brother; so *ninaran mamane* can only mean: her brother; *ninaran hahata*: his sister. See also p. 10.

naran naran, as usually, in the usual manner (?).

naru, see **aru** 1, 2.

nasō, see **sō**.

natas, cloud.

natjama, see **atja**.

natji, see **atji**.

natus, send, despatch.

nau, high, stiff grass (called *alang-alang* in Jav.).

Naumatai, dwelling-place of an ancestor of *Esulit* (Texts VII, XIII).

nau(n), know, be able to; also: *nanau(n)* in which *na-* may function as an emphatic reduplication; of course *nanau(n)* also means: who knows; *aonau(n)*, I know; *aonana(n)*, I know already, now I know, I who know; *aota nanau(n)*, I don't know yet etc.; *ta(na)-nau(n)* is also used to express: "not allowed to" and "unknown" in the sense of "amazing, inconceivable, exceedingly", e.g. *aaru*

tanana(n), exceedingly many, innumerable.

ne, give; *ne la*, give to; *ne halik*, give back; *nane*, who gives, giving, who is given; *ne heak*, lend to. Cp. **ohik**.

nean, name, named, be named; *nanean*, whose name is, named; *nimanean*, it should be named; *ninean hari*, what is his name.

See G. N. §§ 3, 23.

nea(r), see **luku(n)**.

nehu, go down, set (of sun and moon).

neku, hiccough.

nen, six, usually with the prefix *ha-* (G. N. § 10).

nene, struck, hit; *nene tjtjirin*, having a cold (cp. *tjirin* and G. N. § 3).

nesu, tooth.

nesu, jump.

netji, see **atji**.

ni, he, him, his; *ni ge*, he, this one, here, now; *ni go*, he, that one, there, then. See G. N. §§ 7, 16.

Niki, one of the ancestors of the village (*Ili*) *mamau* (Text VIII).

niti, cut into, wound.

nitu, ghost, witch.

no, coco, coco-tree; *no'ēr*, coco-milk; *no-huaⁿ*, coco-nut; *no lalan*, fresh coco-nut; *noron*, coco-leaf.

nō, lay down, put down; leave behind; put away (e.g. for future use); give up (e.g. a custom); take leave.

nohai, see **hai**.

nohi 1, see **ohi**.

nohi 2, see **knohi**.

nohihala, see **hala**.

nohisoro, see **soro**.

nohitūk, choke oneself (probably: *n-ohi-tūk*, see **ohi**).

noro, see **oro**.
norun, horn (on head of animal).
notji, see **otji**.
nuhi, see **knohi**.
nunu, banyan tree.
nunuk, discover.
nunuⁿ, mouth, snout; *nunuⁿ-hulun*,
 whiskers, moustache; *nunuⁿ-*
poha(n), bill, beak.

nupuñ, grow.
nuru, mucus, slime.
nusa(n), island; *Nusan* (without
 name) always means the island
Redjung at the Northwest-point
 of Wetar; *nusa(n) homoⁿ*, earth
 (lit. island above, on top).
nutruhu, see **utur** and **uhur**.

O

ō, a kind of bamboo; *ō'osan*, floor
 of bamboo.
o, you, your. See G. N. §§ 7, 16.
oain, face.
ohai, see **hai**.
ohi, do, make; also: use as, e.g.
nimahia nohi nalun, he (the de-
 ceased) will take them along as
 provisions (G. N. § 16); about
ohi- (*mohi-*, *nohi-*, *rohi-*) as a
 verbal prefix see G. N. § 24.
ohik, **uhik**, take, take up, take
 away; break up, depart; *ohik*
heak, borrow from (cp. *ne*).
o(h)iwate, be able to.
om, nearly, almost.
on, **ori**, **oⁿ**, bay, harbor.
on(i), **un(i)** 1, because, as, just as,
 if, when; *onhala*, because, why
 (also interrog.); *oni ... onitjoi*,
 just as ... so; *nion*, the cause of
 it is, it must be owing to; *oni ge*,
 for this reason, thus, namely,
 then, after that; *oni go*, for that
 reason etc.; also used as intro-
 ductory particle at the beginning
 of a story: once upon a time;
onima, as, just as, if, when;
onime, why, what is the reason
 that; *onimanigo*, thus, so it is,
 all-right, that's all, under those
 circumstances, so, after that. See
 also G. N. § 31.
oni, **uni** 2, to, towards; *onidjela*,

up, aloft; *oni orañ*, down; *oni ra*,
 to the land, landward; *oni utur*,
 up, aloft.
opi, sword, cutlass; *opikapan*, scab-
 bard; *opisun*, chopping-knife;
opisun karoisuk, hoe (cp. *suk*?).
or, **o^r**, buy.
orañ, under, below; *orañ(ni)ge*,
 underneath, underhere; *la orañ*,
 down; *nai(n) orañ*, (from) under-
 neath; *oni orañ*, down; *ratan la*
orañ, down to the bottom
 (ground).
oro, with, together with, along
 with; *noro(ma)*, with, together
 with, and also; *norohala*, because;
raroro, who (plur.) with; about
oro- (*moro-*, *noro-*, *roro-*) as a
 verbal prefix see G. N. § 31.
oron, see **manu**.
oruk, wave.
orun, speak. Cp. *aru* 2 (?).
osa, goods, property, cloth; *osa*
osa, various kinds of goods; *osa*
djadjagan, merchandise; the term
osa is also regularly applied to
 the goods used in ceremonial
 practice, e.g. on the occasion of
 marriage, death and suchlike. Cp.
 Texts XXI, XIV, XXII, XXV.
osa(n), split bamboo, floor above
 the ground made of this material;
osa(n) palile, space between
 floor and ground.

oso (perhaps also *osa*), cut. Cp. *musan* 2 (?).

osu(ma), only.

otji, a verb-stem meaning: cause, lead to; as a verbal, adverbial or conjunctive particle it is usually provided with the pronominal

prefixes *m-*, *n-*, *r-* (G. N. § 16); meanings: until, so that; in order to, that; by means of, using. See also G. N. § 25.

otjo, see, look, look for, visit; *otjo tara*, look, please!, just look.

otur, see *utur*.

P

pa 1, old man, respectful term, followed by the proper name.

pa 2, capsize.

paga, enclosure (Mal. *pagar*).

pahi, sneeze.

pai, pound, thresh.

pair 1, river; *pairkeha*, other side of the river; *pairulun*, flood (cp. *ulun*).

pair 2, in *nitapair amisarun*, he doesn't pay his debt to us, *pair* is probably a Malayism (*bajar*), cp. *pais*.

pais, pay.

paka, forehead.

pakrau, mortuary feast.

paku, wash (clothes).

palaneta, wedge.

palas, repay, reciprocate; *palas halik tau*, repay, reciprocate with.

pali 1, keep, take care of (animals).

pali 2, to anchor, put to anchor; *pali hoho*, be floating about.

palile, see *osan*.

panage, guest.

panahuru, early morning; *panahuru anan*, very early in the morning; *panahuru ge*, early this morning; *panahuru sa'*, yesterday morning.

panan 1, plain, level.

panan 2, son- or daughter-in-law.

panas, warm, hot, sharp; fever.

pani, parents-in-law; *pani hañata*, mother-in-law; *pani mamane*, father-in-law.

panu, rise (from sleep).

Panusan, an inhabitant of *Napar* in olden times (Text XII).

papan, board, wooden box.

paparu, see *paru*.

papehur, see *pehur*.

paputi, see *puti*.

para, a particle of uncertain meaning; it occurs in two places in the texts, viz. 44. 11 and 50. 13.

pare, see *kuru(n)*.

pari, become, thrive.

paru, roast, grill; *paparu*, roasting, roasted (G. N. § 29).

Parupu, village of the *Tugun*-people in West-Wetar (Text III).

pas 1, strike (with the hand).

pas 2, shoulder.

pasi, erect, build, e.g. a mast, a house, a village; also: put on a post in the centre of the village (viz. captured heads).

pasu(k), sit, sit down; hold session, meet in council (of the elders); *pasuk!*, sit down!; *pasuk hele*, sit cross-legged.

patan, *patan*, feel; *patan peu*, feel ill.

Patas Er, locality on the West-coast of Wetar (Text III).

patik, throw.

patjak, preceded by *rohi-* means: (they) have an affair, do wrong together (of a man and a woman).

patju, lamp made of a fruit called *tō* in Wetar and *bintaŋgur* in Amb. Mal.

pau, torment, plague, molest, make ill.

paun, ancestor, ancestress.

pe, but, however. Cp. *tora*.

peha, furious.

pehur, satiated; *papehur*, who is satiated; *namo(n) papehur*, time of plenty, abundance, lit. the world which is satiated, when the world is satiated; *ma pehur*, there will be plenty. Cp. G. N. §§ 28, 29.

pek, defecate; *pek ēr*, have diarrhoea.

peke, see *li(n)* and *mata*.

pekun, see *lima*.

peloro anan, bullet.

pēn, grandchild.

penu, full.

Pera, see *Erai*.

Perputi, name of a mountain.

Pertjaka, child of *Mahemandjak* and *Pihuan* (Text II).

pesik, only, alone.

petun, a kind of bamboo.

peu, ill, painful; be ill, ache; bitter; *ma peu*, fall ill, begin to ache; *papeu*, who is ill; *ito papeupēu*, sick people.

pigar, move, rise from one's sleep.

Piharu, a *Klisana*-woman with whom Elder *Haru* committed adultery (Text IV).

Pihori, ancestress of *Napar* in *Redjung* (Text III).

Pihuan, sister of *Maleman* (Text II).

Pikopa, a *Redjung*-woman given in marriage to a *Tugun*-man by *Malai* (Text III).

pilani, a kind of bamboo.

Pileki, *Tugun*-woman given in

marriage to *Malai* (Text III).

Pimetan, mother of *Birkai* in *Lirang* (Text XIV).

Pinai, sister of *Birkai* (Text XIV).

pinan, in *osa pinan*, a piece of cloth of a certain length.

pinen = *pinan*.

pipi, goat.

Pipui, sister of *Birkai* (Text XIV).

pipui, sick woman; cp. *mamau*.

pirak, copper (also brass?); *pirak la lukun*, copper anklet.

Pirara, a *Napar* woman who married *Birkai* (Text XIV).

Pirere (= *Pirara*?), daughter of *Maganu(n)* of *Esulit* (Text XIII).

Pireri (= *Pirere*?), wife of *Karapais* (Text X).

piri, break up, leave.

Pirubu, a woman who tried to become the wife of *Birkai* by impersonating *Pirara* (Text XIV).

pisai, trust, religious belief, religion.

pita, in *pita niapuren*; spit; cp. *purus* and *apore(n)*.

pitin, mat, sleeping-mat, outmost shroud.

pogan, allow.

poha, long (of objects).

pohan, underwood.

pohon, growl, grumble.

poi 1, ripe.

poi 2, glowing charcoal.

poin, neck.

poka, neck.

pokek, turn, turn over.

pola, brown, yellow.

pole, fall down, fall off.

popos, lie prostrate.

potuk, throw away.

pu, see (i)to(n).

Pua, name of a cape (Text IX).

pua 1, pinang.

pua 2, blow, fan (the fire).

puhik, finished, done, gone (e.g. food); altogether, completely; after that had been done, then, as soon as. See also G. N. §§ 27, 31.

puir, short.

pula, a kind of tree. *Enau* was mentioned as the Malay name.

puli, throw.

pulu, aren-palm.

pupu, swelling, swollen, tumour.

pupun, a kind of bamboo.

purak, out, extinguished.

purus in *purus apore(n)*, spit; cp. **pita**, *apore(n)*.

puta 1, close one's eyes.

puta 2, twine; *puta tali*, twine cord, string.

puti, white; *paputi*, who is white, being white (G. N. § 3); *namon puti*, it is light (lit. the world white).

putis, scar, cicatrice.

putu, sling (for throwing stones).

R

ra(ra), rare, land, ground, esp. in contrast to sea, water; *la ra*, *oni ra*, landwards; *la rare*, on the ground, ashore, on dry land; *rare'ahun*, ashes (cp. *ahun*); *ra(ra)* is also used to indicate the island of Wetar as the "continent" in contrast to the "islands", e.g. *karohai oni ra*, let us go (from *Nusan*) to *Wetar*.

ra 1, see **rara**.

ra 2, see **na** 1.

ra 3, see **a**.

radja, good, fine (of persons or things), *ta radja*, bad, ugly; *raradja*, who is good (fine), being good (fine) (G. N. § 3).

raha, house; lineage; *rahabalak*, roof-beam (G. N. § 5); *rahadjela*, loft; *rahaulun*, thatching; *rahalitjun*, corner; *rahaluku(n)*, house-post; *rahamuka*, front-veranda; *raha'ulen*, floor.

Raha'ana, name of the "eldest" of the two main house-posts (Text VIII).

rahau(n), see **hau(n)**.

rahua, see **rua**.

rahuru, see **ahuru**.

rain, smell, stench.

rakadjoka, see **akadjoka**.

rakamohun, see **akamohun**.

rakatjaru, belch (from *akatjaru*?).

rakawari, see **akawari**.

rala, see **la** 4.

ralan 1, time; *ralan eha*, once, once upon a time; *ralan eha halik*, once more; *halik ralan eha ge*, this time again, once more only.

ralan 2, in, within, inside; heart, contents; usually postpos., e.g. *tjahiralan*, seawater, sea; *tearalan*, in the garden; *ili(n)ralan*, village population (see also **anan**).

raloa, see **aloa**.

ralolon, see **lolon**.

rama, bow; *rama'anan*, arrow; *rama'enian*, quiver (cp. **enian**).

ramanesa, flat, level, plain.

ramutu, see **mutu**.

rana, cooking-pot.

ranik, near, nearly, almost.

rap(a) lihu(r), see **lihu(r)**.

rapu, see **apu**.

raradja, see **radja**.

rara(n), blood.

raratan, see **ratan**.

rare, see **ra**.

Rare Mera, name of the garden of *Pirara* (Text XIV).

rarera, boiled rice (= *rerera*?).

Cp. **rera**.

rarohi, see **ohi** and G. N. §§ 21, 29.
rarú, further, again, more; *ta rarú*, no more, not again.
raru, see **aru**.
rasik, see **asik**.
rasō, see **sō**.
ratan, arrive; as far as, until; enough; in many cases it is the exact equivalent of Mal. *sampai*; *ratan(l)a*, arrive at, as far as; *ratan(l)age*, as far as this, till now, up to now; *ratan(l)a orañ*, down to the ground; *ratan(m)age* = *ratan(l)age*; *nai ma go ratan ge*, from that time up to now; *raratan*, who arrives, arriving, when he arrives. See also G. N. §§ 21, 29, 30, 31.
rau, cat.
raun, worn out, rotten, mouldered.
rego, throw.
reha, rice (still growing or cut off); *reha'ihin*, peeled rice; *reha reha*, plenty, lots of rice; *reha-suhun*, rice-husk; *rehatuhun*, rice-stalk; *reha'upun*, rice-spirit.
rehi, vanquish, overcome; *ta rehi*, defeated.
re(i), haul ashore (a boat); lead (an army: *hunurin*); *re(i)halik*, return, go back, go again.
reku, prosperous, well-to-do.
rema, light, clear.
renu, see **enu**.
reo, a measure of length: about six feet (in Mal. called *depa*).
Repan, a place somewhere between *Napar* and *Lirañ* (Text XIV).
rera, dry, solid; *gañ rerera*, solid food (cp. *rarera*).
rere, sow, strew about.
res, breath, breathe, suck.
rese, lay in the sun to be dried.
resék, gobble up, suck.
resi, lift up; *resi hatu*, weigh anchor.

Retu, the island *Redjung*, also: North.

rian, **rian**, father's sister's child, mother's brother's child, sister's husband, brother's wife; *rian anamana*, mother's brother's child; *rian anahata*, father's sister's child; *rororian*, being in the relation of brothers-in-law, sisters-in-law or brother- and sister-in-law. See p. 10.

rihuk 1, bench, couch of bamboo used for sitting or sleeping on (in Mal. called *balai-balai*).

rihuk 2, storm.

rihun, thousand.

rin, lord, master; but also: troop, multitude, crew, e.g. *loirin*, crew of the boat; *hunurin*, army. See also **hatu**, **namo**.

riun, husband, wife; *riun mamane*, husband; *riun hahata*, wife.

rohai, see **hai**.

rohi'ek, see **ek** and **ohi**.

rohigarak, see **garak** and **ohi**.

rohiguli, see **guli**.

rohihahoa, see **hoa**.

rohihalas, see **halas** and **ohi**.

rohihere, see **here**.

rohihia, see **hia** and **ohi**.

rohihoa, see **hoa**.

rohihopan, see **hopan**.

rohihakar, see **karak**.

rohihosa, see **kosa** and **ohi**.

rohilihu(r), see **lihu(r)** 1.

rohima'cha, become one, make one; see **eha**, **ohi** and **ma** 4.

rohimani, see **mani**.

rohipatjak, see **patjak**.

rohirahaun, see **hau(n)**.

rohirahuru, see **ahuru**.

rohiraru, see **aru** 2.

rohirohi, see **ohi**.

rohiselu, see **selu**.

rohisoro, see **soro**.

rohisoru, see soru.
 rohitapa, see tapa.
 rohite, see te.
 rohitehu, see tehu.
 rohitene, see tene.
 rohitok, see tok.
 rohiton, see ton.
 rohitulun, see tulun.
 rohiworu, see woru.
 rokan, trap, snare.
 ron, roⁿ, leaf.
 rotji, see otji.
 ru, lay down, put down; *ru rare*,

put in the earth, fill up a grave with earth.
 rua, two, usually with the numeral prefix *ha-*: *harua*; sometimes with metathesis: *rahua*. See G. N. § 10.
 ruma, granary.
 rurak, shake, shiver.
 rurik, loose, loosened.
 rurin, bone.
 ruru, pick, gather (flowers, fruit etc.).
 ruti, big lizard, iguana.
 rutju, charcoal.

S

sa, prohibitive particle, like Mal. *djangan*, may as a rule be translated with "don't", e.g. *osalari*, don't run away; *misagarak*, don't quarrel. See also G. N. § 26.
 sa', sometimes pronounced *sak*, postpos. particle expressing: "which has been mentioned, that same", e.g. *la raha sa'*, to the above-mentioned house (place).
 Cp. *sepak*.
 Safreti, see Sawareti.
 sahi, to massage.
 sahur, put away (out of use).
 sai 1, rainbow.
 sai 2, to peel.
 sai 3, pointed, sharp.
 saik, wade, ford.
 sak, see sa'.
 sakatjitji, squat down.
 Sakir, a place-name (Text III).
 sala, wrong, mistake, bad act, sin.
 sala(n), road, path, way; (*la*) *sala(n) tenan*, half-way, on the way; *sala'un*, lit. road-eye; it probably means: head, beginning of the road.
 Sale, a hill on top of which the *Tugun* people had built their village (Text III).

sani, song.
 sapan, small boat. Cp. *loi*.
 sapar, to dance.
 sapia, a kind of cutlass or knife. In text XIV the *sapia*, being made of bamboo, is contrasted with the *opi*, the normal cutlass with iron blade. Cp. *sulupia*.
 sapuraka, a kind of orange (called in Mal. *djeruk*).
 sara, receive (a visitor).
 sari, touch at, call at.
 sarin, debt.
 sarlia, millepede.
 sarun, sand-bank, sand-bar.
 sasa, demolish, pull down, e.g. a house.
 sasim, steep.
 sasolan, see *solan*.
 sasuni, see *sun*.
 sau(tali), snake.
 Sawareti, an inhabitant of the island *Kambing*; in rapid speaking the name is sometimes pronounced *Safreti* (Text VII).
 seka, put down, put away; having been put down (away); be lying down.
 selak, bamboo spars of a sail.
 seli, pour out.
 selu, exchange; (*hira*) *rohiselu*,

- they exchange (G. N. §§ 21 and 24).
- seluk**, other.
- Seman**, ancestor of *Napar* (Text IV).
- seman**, outrigger-float of a boat.
- senak**, put down (away).
- senhalik** in *senhalik la nin*, put it on her(self), viz. a dress.
- seon**, carry (when 2 or more people together carry something on their shoulders).
- sepak**, mentioned just now; it seems to have the same meaning as *sa'*.
- sepaki**, now, at present. Cp. **sepak**.
- sere**, get, obtain, be able to.
- serik**, oblique, slanting. Cp. **ma-ta(n)**.
- seru**, wild, shy.
- sesan**, to cook. Cp. **sisan**.
- si 1**, tie, fasten.
- si 2**, shell-fish; *sisuhun*, shell.
- siak**, see **si(r)ak**.
- siogo**, signalling-shell (which is blown). Cp. **si 2**.
- siruila**, ray, thorn-back.
- sisan**, bake (earthenware). Cp. **sesan**.
- sisi**, mosquito.
- sisuhun**, see **si 2**.
- skotol**, dish, platter (Holl. *schotel*).
- sō, asō**, descend, jump down, throw down, land, take ashore, go (return) from Wetar to a smaller island, go (return) from inland to coast. See G. N. § 4.
- so**, far.
- soi 1**, draw (water).
- soi 2**, comb; *soiutu*, louse-comb.
- solan**, ready, make ready, prepare, lay out; *sasolan*, which has been made ready (laid out). See G. N. § 29.
- Solok(o)**, the island *Solor*; *hira Soloko*, the *Solor* people.
- sop**, put down, throw down.
- sopar**, to sail, sail away; cause to sail, set adrift.
- Sorai**, a place-name (Text VII).
- sori**, see **masori**.
- soro**, meet, mix up; *rohisoro*, they meet, meeting; *nohisoro*, it mixes up. See G. N. §§ 21 and 24.
- soru**, to order, command; *rohisoru*, they order (each other) (G. N. § 24).
- soti**, a kind of bamboo (called *buluh tui* in Amb^o Mal.).
- sotik**, break.
- sua**, withdraw, move away, go backwards.
- suak**, ashamed; *ohisuak*, make ashamed (G. N. § 24).
- suhun**, see **si 2**.
- suin**, show, point to.
- suk**, weeds.
- suka**, to measure.
- sukun**, breadfruit (tree) (Mal.); cp. **ulu**.
- sulupia**, knife made of bamboo. Cp. **sapia**.
- sun**, burn, be burnt.
- suri(n)**, give, give in charge, let go, give up, throw away, shoot; *suri(n) maho*, give in marriage (about *ma-* see G. N. § 23).
- susa**, trouble (of all kinds); *ta susa*, without trouble; *susa li'*, danger, distress, etc. Cp. **li'**.
- susu**, woman's breast, udder; *susu-mata(n)*, nipple, teat; *susu'er*, milk.

T

- ta**, not.
- tabaku**, tobacco.
- tagus**, gall, bile.
- taha**, prick, thrust, put something

into something else, e.g. a sheath of a sword (cutlass), put something in one's loincloth; plant, make seed-holes, till and plant a garden.

tahun, see **lën**.

tai, put, lay. Cp. **tasi**.

tain, sharp; *ta tain*, blunt.

takuruk, coconut-shell.

Tali, name of a child at *Sorai* (Text VII).

talo, gong.

tama, **tamo**, enter.

tamon(i), bury; *tamon rarare* (= *la rare*), bury on dry land.

tañ, increase, add; more, besides.

tane, carry (in one's hand).

tanen, see **lima**.

tapa, speak, talk, say; *tatapa*, who speaks, speaking, what is (has been) said, words; *katapa*, we (incl.) shall talk, let us talk; *rohitapa*, they talk; *tapa la*, speak (say) to. See G. N. §§ 21, 22, 24, and 29.

tapari, flat.

Tapenu, **Tapinu**, nobleman (and chief?) from *Wesiri* (Texts VII and XIII).

tapu, nestle, make their nests (of bees).

tara, see **otjo**.

taran, see **hatu**.

tarik, urinate.

tasi, put, lay; cp. **tai**.

tatañ, close, shut.

tatú, very, very much.

tatu, put against, cause to lean against.

tau 1, break up, depart.

tau 2, with, by means of.

tau 3, put, lay; *tau tjas*, put together.

te 1, excrements.

te 2, feast, dance and sing, have a festive meal.

te 3, throw, thrust, prick; *te la*, make a short cut to; *rohite*, they fight, to fight, war (G. N. §§ 21 and 24).

te 4, or (excl.), e.g. *omui te tora*, are you willing or not.

te(a), **tër**, spear; prick, prick to death. Cp. **te 3**.

teas, see **ai 1**.

te(h)a, garden, field.

teha, accept.

tehu 1, meet with; also: *ohitehu*, *orotehu*, e.g. *ninohitehu*, he met with; *rohitehu*, they met; *ninoro-tehu nilok*, he met with his friend; *tatehu*, *tetehu*, who meets with, against. See G. N. §§ 21, 24, and 29.

tehu 2, sugar-cane.

tekatau, small house-lizard (called in Mal. *tjetjak*).

teke, large house-lizard (called in Mal. *tokè*).

tela 1, pounder, pestle.

tela 2, to order.

telu, three, usually with the numeral prefix *ha-*: *hatelu* (G. N. § 10).

tema, all, together, whole, complete; *tatema*, all (with emphasis); *tema tema*, all of them.

temnia, there is not. See also **mia**.

tena(n), half, middle; *la tenan*, in the middle, half-way; *la tenanige*, half-way; *salantenan*, half-way.

tene, persuade, try to persuade, exhort; *rohitene*, they exhort (each other) (G. N. § 24).

teno, a fruit (eugenia, called in Mal. *djambu*).

tepa, full; *matepa*, fill (G. N. § 23).

tepun, time, season.

tër, see **te(a)**.

tera, to massage.

teri(k), cut off (e.g. a head); intercept (e.g. the enemy), prevent; *materi(k)*, to cut off, intercept (G. N. § 23).

terun, carry (on one's head).

teta(k), tete(k), cut through.

tetu, prepare, make ready.

ti, go, go away; *mati*, going to leave, want to leave, to leave (G. N. § 23).

tila, square.

tili, sit with legs folded under the body (called in Mal. *bertimpuh*).

timun, East. Cp. *djulu*.

tina(n), back, backbone; *tinajako*, backbone.

titi, drum.

tjahan, done, cooked (of food).

tjahi, sea, sea-shore; *tjahina*ⁿ, sea-shore; *tjahiralan*, sea, seawater; in the sea; *la tjahi*, to the coast, to the sea, into the sea.

tjai in *tjai oni djela*, look upward.

Tja(h)iwalu, Tjewalu, one of the two bee-spirits (Text XVIII). Cp. *Le(o)walu*.

tjaka(s), cross (a river, an open space etc.).

tjali, inhabit, occupy; *otjatjali*, which you will occupy (G. N. § 29).

tjama 1, only.

tjama 2, worm.

tjape, to begin.

tjas, together, e.g. *heo tjas*, call together; *tau tjas*, put together; *tjatjas*, together (with emphasis); *ma rorotjas*, they come together with, they accompany; *tjatjas oni*, like, the same as. Cp. *ma 1* and *oro*.

tjatjan, accompany, lead, show the way.

tjatjas, see *tjas*.

tjatjirin, see *tjirin*.

tjatjoan, *tjotjoan*, slowly, gradually.

tjaunla, till, down to.

tjehan, anvil.

Tjekalo, child of *Pihuan* and *Ma-hemandjak* (Text II).

tjetje, bring up, feed, take care of, provide for.

tjigin, fire-stones, fire-place.

tjirin, cold, cool; healthy, safe; *ma*

tjirin, to be cold, healthy etc.;

tjatjirin, a cold (G. N. § 3).

tjoi, tjui, follow, following, according to, because; *tjoihala*, because, for, therefore; *tjoihalik*, just the same as; *tjotjoi*, following, favourable (of wind); *ma-tjoi ni*, that he would follow him, to follow him (G. N. § 23). Cp. also *leo* and *oni*.

tjoli, imitate.

tjono, drag, haul (a canoe to the sea).

tjos, wet; *tjos naik*, damp.

tjotja, *tjutja*, tale, story.

tjotjoan, see *tjatjoan*.

tjua, kindle (a fire).

tjuak, see (ka)tjuak.

tjui, see *tjoi*.

Tjuruain, see *Djuruain*.

tjurus, comrade, friend; also: friends and relations in general.

tjutja, see *tjotja*.

tō, see *patju*.

to, see (i)to(n).

toar, visit; *la toar*, go to visit.

toi, tui, to cook; *magotui*, who cook (G. N. § 23).

toin, see *kuru(n)*.

tōk, find, meet; *rohitōk*, they meet, to meet; *tōk papeu*, get ill.

toklohe, a kind of lizard.

toko, trader; shop.

toluk (viz. *kuratun*, *kurun*), cut off heads, head-hunting.

tomo, find, meet.

- ton 1, arrange, make an arrangement, contract an alliance, instruct, agree.
 ton 2, year; *ton ton*, every year; *ton haruarua*, every other year.
 ton 3, see *tuan*.
 To(n)ala, spirit of a house- post. Cp. Le(o)walu.
 toni, bathe (somebody else).
 topu(ēr), bathe (oneself); often abbreviated to *topur*.
 tora, tōra, not (with emphasis), no; or, or else; *ta ... tora*, decidedly not, not even; *tora pa*, if not, or else.
 totan, chop to small pieces, mince.
 tu, star.
 tuan, long; *noroma tuan*, of the same length; in rapid speech *tuan* may be abbreviated to *ton*.
 tugu, beat bark (to make cloth).
 Tugun, a tribe of people in the region opposite the island *Redjung* (Texts III and IV).
 tuhu, pay for, ransom; *marotjitu*hu, in order to pay for (G. N. §§ 23 and 25).
 tuhun, see *reha*.
 tui, see *toi*.
 tūk, see *nohitūk*.
tukan, technical expert, e.g. *tukan mumu*, blacksmith (Mal. *tukang*).
 tula, put away (for future use).
 tulen, to sound.
 tulima, successively.
 tulun, help; *rohitulun*, they help, to help (G. N. § 24).
 tuna, eel.
 tunu, roast (meat or fish); cp. *mutun*; *matunu*, in order to roast (G. N. § 23).
 tupi, to string or tie together; tying together, which is (has been) tied together.
 tupu, hit, strike.
 tur, stay, live (somewhere).
 turu(n), descend, go from inland to coast, go ashore (from a ship); make descend, make go ashore; *turusō* = *turu(n)*.
 Tutu, name of a chief on *Redjung* (Text IV).
 tutu 1, forge, weld (?); *tutwana*, hammer; *tutumumu*, forge.
 tutu 2, see *tutu(n)*.
 tutukri, a kind of pigeon (onomat.).
 tutu(n), up, on top; *la tutu(n)*, up, on top; *la rahatutu(n)*, up in (up into) the house.
 tutun, cape, promontory.

U

- ua, rotan.
 uguragi, plait.
 uhar, see *lasar*.
 uhi, tuber, tuberous plant; *uhitjai* (*tjahi* ?), cassave.
 uhik, see *ohik*.
 uhuk, take up.
 Uhun, an *Erai* man (Text VI).
 uhur, top, summit.
 ui, vagina.
 uku(n), collect.
 ula, poisonous snake.
 ulen, see *raha*.
 ulik, skin, hide, bark.
 ulu, breadfruit (tree).
 ulu'air, ankle.
 uluhori, see *hutu*.
 ulumaka, a fruit (tree) (called in Mal. *nangka*).
 ulu(n), mountain, shoal (of fish), swarm (of birds etc.).
 ulun, head-cloth of white or printed cotton. Cp. *ulu(n)* (?).
 uma, louse.
 uman, snail, slug.
 un, tree; cp. *kamariu*, *ai*, and *hau*.

un(i), see **on(i)**.

untali in *laik untali*, a man of high standing (elder) belonging to the lineage of a deceased person (Text XXV).

upa(k), medicine.

upun, lord, master; also: spiritual chief and representative of a class or beings or things in nature; *upun hahata*, grandmother; *upun mamane*, grandfather; cp. **ani**, **hatu**, **krai**, **namo**, **reha**.

ura, extinguish (fire).

urak, tendon, sinew; cp. **lima**.

urañ, shrimp.

us, red pepper.

usan, rain, rainy season.

usi meran, flesh (*meran* = *mera*?).

utan, pea, bean.

uti, see **genu**.

utu(n), louse; *utu lisan*, nit.

utu, like, same as; *utu ge*, like this.

utur, **otur**, on top of, above; mountain, on the mountain; *leo nut(u)ruhu(r)*, the sun is at its highest point (lit. on the summit).

W

wa, dew.

wagu, mixed.

wana, right-hand side.

wanak, talk.

wase, wash (objects).

wati(n), abode, dwelling-place.

we, see **ani**.

wekun, tortuous, winding.

wēn, melt; *wēn tjas*, melt together.

werahan, garret, loft.

wese, paddle; *mawese*, to paddle (G. N. § 23).

Wesiri, village or tribe of *Tapinu* (Texts VII and XIII).

wesok, claw, talon.

weto, swing, rock.

Wetuk, a place-name (Text VII).

wiri, left-hand side.

wogeru, ladle.

woren, collect (and put) somewhere.

woru, despise, revile; *rohiworu*, they despise, revile (G. N. § 24).

ENGLISH INDEX TO THE VOCABULARY

able, <i>djaga, nau(n)</i> , o(h)iwate, sere.	aloft, <i>oni₂</i> .	ashore, <i>ra(ra)</i> .
abode, <i>wati(n)</i> .	alone, <i>ana(n)</i> , <i>eha, meha,</i> <i>pesik</i> .	ask, <i>haga, heti</i> .
about, <i>eha</i> .	along with, <i>oro</i> .	as soon as, <i>puhik</i> .
above, <i>djela, hoho(n)</i> , <i>utur</i> .	already, <i>mega</i> .	at, <i>la₁</i> .
absent, <i>mia</i> .	although, <i>masik</i> .	aunt, <i>hain₁, ina(n)</i> .
absolutely, <i>isi(n)</i> .	altogether, <i>isi(n)</i> , <i>mega,</i> <i>nahahulak, puhik</i> .	avaricious, <i>kai</i> .
abundance, <i>pehur</i> .	amazing, <i>nau(n)</i> .	axe, <i>eti</i> .
abuse, <i>gui</i> .	amok, <i>edja</i> .	await, <i>erak</i> .
accept, <i>teha</i> .	ancestor, <i>paun</i> .	baby, <i>mera</i> .
accompany, <i>tjas, tjatjan</i> .	ancestor-figure, <i>deus</i> .	back, <i>halik, lin₂, tina(n)</i> .
according to, <i>tjoi</i> .	anchor (subst.), <i>hatu₂,</i> <i>loi₁</i> .	backbone, <i>tina(n)</i> .
ache, <i>peu</i> .	anchor (verb), <i>pali₂</i> .	backpart, <i>liu₂</i> .
Adam's apple, <i>genu</i> .	anchorage, <i>lo(r)</i> .	backside, <i>lën</i> .
add, <i>tañ</i> .	anchor-tow, <i>loi₁</i> .	bad, <i>hau(n)</i> , <i>naprohan,</i> <i>radja, sala</i> .
adultery, <i>karkara, lemu-</i> <i>san</i> .	angle (verb), <i>masori</i> .	bag, <i>kakalu₂</i> .
affair, <i>karkara, lemusan,</i> <i>li₂, patjak</i> .	angry, <i>garak</i> .	bake (pottery), <i>sisan</i> .
afraid, <i>leguran</i> .	ankle, <i>ulu'air</i> .	bald, <i>kuru(n)</i> .
afterbirth, <i>kawai(r)</i> , <i>klaka</i> .	answer, <i>aru₂</i> .	bamboo, <i>enian, hua₂, ka-</i> <i>ruha, kuau, ô, osa(n)</i> .
after that, <i>on(i)</i> , <i>puhik</i> .	ant, <i>gurmali, kasarea(n)</i> .	<i>petuñ, pilañ, pupun,</i> <i>sapia, soti, sulupia</i> .
afterwards, <i>liu₂, muri,</i> <i>nai(n)</i> .	anvil, <i>tjehan</i> .	banana, <i>kupi, mu</i> .
again, <i>halik, hekega,</i> <i>ralan₁, rarü</i> .	appear, <i>huk</i> .	banyan tree (waringin), <i>djagai, nunu</i> .
against, <i>tehu₁</i> .	aren-palm, <i>pulu</i> .	bargain, <i>heti</i> .
agree, <i>ahok, ton₁</i> .	arm, <i>lima</i> .	bark (verb), <i>horu</i> .
air, <i>ani(n)</i> .	arm-pit, <i>kahalilin</i> .	bark (subst.), <i>ai₁, ulik</i> .
alive, <i>mori</i> .	arm-ring, <i>lima</i> .	bark-cloth, <i>lupu(r)</i> .
all, <i>nahahulak, tema</i> .	army, <i>hunu, rin</i> .	basket, (a) <i>karuha, djapu,</i> <i>hopo, horon, kapen</i> .
alliance, <i>ton₁, asuran</i> .	arrange, <i>ton₁</i> .	bat, <i>heki</i> .
allow, <i>pogan</i> .	arrive, <i>ratán</i> .	bathe, <i>toni, topu(ēr)</i> .
allowed, <i>hau(n), nau(n)</i> .	arrow, <i>rama</i> .	bay, <i>lo(r), on</i> .
all-right, <i>on(i)₁</i> .	arse, <i>leguran</i> .	bead, <i>enu₃</i> .
almost, <i>narai, om, ranik</i> .	as, <i>ma₃, on(i)</i> .	beak, <i>nunuⁿ</i> .
	ascend, <i>hai</i> .	bean, <i>utan</i> .
	as far as, <i>ratán</i> .	
	ashamed, <i>suak</i> .	
	ashes, <i>ra(ra)</i> .	

bear (children), <i>gole₂</i> .	boil, <i>gora</i> .	call, <i>heo</i> ; call at, <i>sari</i> ; call together, <i>heo, tjas</i> .
bear (fruit), <i>huaⁿ</i> .	bône, <i>urin</i> .	cape, <i>hatu₂, tutun</i> .
beard, <i>garuk</i> .	border, <i>heren, knala, lai</i> .	capsize, <i>pa₂</i> .
beat, <i>goton, kela</i> ; beat bark, <i>tugu</i> .	born, <i>gole₂</i> .	captain (of ship), <i>ana-kotja</i> .
because, <i>h(a)la, on(i), oro, tjoï</i> .	borrow, <i>ohik</i> .	carry, <i>haha, hara, kehe, keo, kepik, kiris, koa, leka, seon, tane, terun</i> .
become, <i>pari</i> ; become one, <i>rohima'eha</i> .	boundary, <i>knala</i> .	cassave, <i>hilu, uhi</i> .
bee, <i>ani</i> ; bee-nest, <i>ani</i> ; bee-wax, <i>ani, lilin</i> .	bow, <i>rama</i> .	caste, <i>aran</i> .
beetle, <i>lär</i> .	bowl, <i>krau, lodjan</i> .	cat, <i>rau</i> .
before, <i>muna</i> .	box, <i>papan</i> .	cause, <i>otji</i> .
begin, <i>tjape</i> .	boy, <i>mamane</i> .	cave, <i>guran, liañ</i> .
behaviour, <i>lagu</i> .	brains, <i>gutan</i> .	charcoal, <i>klara, poi₂, rutju</i> .
behind, <i>liu₂</i> .	branch, <i>ai₁, hana(n)</i> .	cheap, <i>heliñ</i> .
belch, <i>rakatjaru</i> .	brass, <i>pirak</i> .	cheek, <i>ape(n)</i> .
belief, <i>pisai</i> .	breadfruit (tree), <i>sukun, ulu</i> .	chew (sirih), <i>mama</i> .
belly, <i>kapun</i> ; belly-ache, <i>kapun</i> .	break, <i>kapak, kati₂, sotik</i> ; break up, <i>ohik, piri, tau₁</i> .	chief, <i>asuain, laik₂, namo(n), upun</i> .
below, <i>orañ</i> .	breast, <i>huan, karnain, susu</i> .	child, <i>ana(n), mera</i> .
bemoan, <i>kua</i> .	breath(e), <i>hora, res</i> .	chin, <i>karoi</i> .
bench, <i>ai₁, bañku, helik, iri, rihuk₁</i> .	bring, <i>hia</i> ; bring up, <i>tjetje</i> .	choke oneself, <i>nohituk</i> .
beside, <i>heren</i> .	briny, <i>masi(n)</i> .	chop to pieces, <i>lohu, musan₂, totan</i> .
besides, <i>krapa(ma), tañ</i> .	broad, <i>gole₁</i> .	chopping-knife, <i>opi</i> .
big, <i>air</i> .	broken, <i>hutus, kapak, kati₂</i> .	cicatrice, <i>putis</i> .
bile, <i>tagus</i> .	brother, <i>ali(n), nara(n)</i> .	cigarette, <i>kur</i> .
bill, <i>nunuⁿ</i> .	brother-in-law, <i>rian</i> .	circular, <i>lilus</i> .
bird, <i>manu</i> .	brown, <i>pola</i> .	civet-cat, <i>laku</i> .
bite, <i>kosa</i> .	buffalo, <i>kerpau</i> .	claw, <i>k(a)lusun, wesok</i> .
bitter, <i>peu</i> .	build, <i>pasi</i> .	clear, <i>rema</i> .
black, <i>meta(m)</i> .	bullet, <i>peloro anan</i> .	cleave, <i>heta, lohu</i> .
blacksmith, <i>tukan</i> .	burn, <i>mutun, suni</i> .	climb, <i>hai</i> .
blind, <i>mata(n)</i> .	burnt, <i>sunì</i> .	close, <i>tatañ</i> .
blood, <i>rara(n)</i> ; blood-brotherhood, <i>asuran</i> ; blood-sucker, <i>makak</i> .	bury, <i>tamon(i)</i> ; burying-place, <i>mate</i> .	close (eyes), <i>puta₁</i> .
blow, <i>pua₂</i> .	but, <i>pe</i> .	cloth, <i>kakehen, knohi, kolen, lahar, lipa, osa, pinan, uluñ</i> .
blue, <i>mosoñ</i> .	butterfly, <i>kaki</i> .	cluster (of fruits), <i>liguk</i> .
blunt, <i>tain</i> .	by means of, <i>otji, tau₂</i> .	coagulate, <i>mea</i> .
boar, <i>hahi</i> .		coccyx, <i>lelui</i> .
board, <i>papan</i> .	cadaverous fluid, <i>ben</i> .	cock, <i>manu</i> .
boat, <i>loi₁, sapan</i> .	cajaput-tree, <i>lua</i> .	cockroach, <i>kelapak</i> .
body, <i>ihì(n)</i> .	calabash, <i>keku, le</i> .	
	calf (of leg), <i>manutelun</i> .	

coco (palm), <i>no</i> ; coco-leaf, <i>no</i> ; coco-milk, <i>no</i> ; coco-nut, <i>no</i> ; coco-nut shell, <i>takuruk</i> .	cross (verb), <i>tjaka(s)</i> . cross-legged, <i>pasu(k)</i> . crow, <i>manu</i> . cucumber, <i>kapuan</i> . cull, <i>kohu</i> . cunning, <i>anak</i> . curcuma, <i>kuna</i> . custom, <i>hadjak, lagu</i> . cut, <i>hau₁, latji, niti, oso</i> ; cut off, <i>teri(k)</i> ; cut off heads, <i>toluk</i> ; cut through, <i>teta(k)</i> . cutlass, <i>opi, sapia</i> . cylindrical, <i>tilus</i> .	dig, <i>kali</i> . diligent, <i>guriti</i> . dirt, <i>ahun, kakrota</i> . discover, <i>nunuk</i> . discuss, <i>aru₂</i> . dish, <i>skotol</i> . distrain, <i>kero</i> . distress, <i>susa</i> . distribute, <i>here</i> . divert oneself, <i>akawari</i> . divide, <i>here</i> . djambu (Mal.) (euge- nia), <i>teno</i> . do, <i>ohi</i> . dog, <i>asu</i> . done, <i>puhik, tjahan</i> . don't, <i>sa</i> . doorway, <i>kona</i> . down, <i>oni₂, ora_n</i> ; down from, <i>djela</i> ; down to, <i>tjaunla</i> . drag, <i>tjono</i> . draw water, <i>soi₁</i> . dregs, <i>ahun</i> . dress, <i>huta</i> . drink, <i>enu₁</i> . drum, <i>titi</i> . dry, <i>geras, mea, rese</i> . dumb, <i>li(n)</i> . dun, <i>heti</i> . dwelling-place, <i>wati(n)</i> .
cohabit, <i>ek</i> . coitus, <i>ek</i> . cold, <i>tjirin</i> ; have a cold, <i>nene</i> . collect, <i>mutu, uku(n)</i> , <i>woren</i> . colocasia (Mal. keladi), <i>huti</i> . comb, <i>kalaha, soi₂</i> . come, <i>hia, ma₁</i> ; come out, <i>huk, lihu(r)₂</i> ; come to- gether, <i>mutu</i> . command, <i>soru</i> . commoners, <i>(i)to(n)</i> . completely, <i>puhik</i> . comrade, <i>lok, tjurus</i> . concha, <i>kini</i> . consent, <i>mui</i> . consume, <i>lalaru, mua</i> . contents, <i>ihi(n), ralan₂</i> . continually, <i>masun</i> . contract an alliance, <i>ton₁</i> . cook, <i>sesan, toi</i> . cooked, <i>tjahan</i> . cool, <i>tjirin</i> . cooled down, <i>akamohun</i> . copper, <i>pirak</i> . coral-reef, <i>krosa, meti₂</i> . corner, <i>raha</i> . corpse, <i>ata, mate</i> . couch, <i>rihuk₁</i> . cough, <i>hatu₁, koho</i> . cousin, <i>ali(n)</i> . cover, <i>kapan</i> . coward(ly), <i>leguran</i> . crab, <i>djuiporo</i> . crew, <i>loi₁, rin</i> . criminal, <i>hau(n)</i> . cripple, <i>akatjohi</i> . crocodile, <i>hea</i> . crooked, <i>kliku</i> .	daily, <i>leo</i> . damar, <i>djala, iawen</i> . damp, <i>tjos naik</i> . dance, <i>sapar, te₂</i> . danger, <i>susa</i> . dark, <i>gagu, hene(n)</i> . daughter, <i>ana(n), haha- ta</i> ; daughter-in-law, <i>panan₂</i> . day, <i>leo</i> ; day after to- morrow, <i>hene(n)</i> ; day before yesterday, <i>hene(n)</i> ; daylight, <i>namo(n)</i> . dead, <i>mate</i> . deaf, <i>kini</i> . decade, <i>hela</i> . deceive, <i>akan</i> . deep, <i>kele</i> . defeat(ed), <i>rehi</i> . defecate, <i>pek</i> . demolish, <i>sasa</i> . depart, <i>gai(n), ohik, tau₁</i> . descend, <i>sō, turu(n)</i> . desire, <i>karak</i> . despatch, <i>natus</i> . despise, <i>woru</i> . dew, <i>wa</i> . diarrhoea, <i>pek</i> . die, <i>mate</i> .	each, <i>eha</i> . ear, <i>kini</i> ; ear of rice etc., <i>hulin</i> ; ear-drop, <i>lau(n)</i> ; ear-wax, <i>kini</i> . earlier, <i>muna</i> . early morning, <i>panahura</i> . earth, <i>namo(n), nusa(n)</i> . east, <i>djulu, timun</i> . eat, <i>kosa, mua, na₁</i> . eclipse, <i>hulan, leo</i> . eel, <i>tuna</i> . elders, <i>laik₂</i> . eldest, <i>aimuna</i> .

embark, *hai, lea*.
 embrace, *kora*.
 empty, *mamuk, mamusun*.
 enclosure, *paga*.
 enemy, *hunu*.
 enough, *atja, ratan*.
 enter, *tama*.
 envelop, *kopa*.
 erect, *pasi*.
 escort, *asuk*.
 eugenia (Mal. *djambu*),
teno.
 evening, (*la*) *mohon*.
 exactly, *mōr*.
 exceedingly, *isi(n)*,
nau(n).
 exchange, *selu*.
 excrements, *te₁*.
 exhort, *tene*.
 expensive, *heliñ*.
 expert, *tukan*.
 explore, *hole*.
 extinguish, *ura*.
 extinguished, *purak*.
 eye, *mata(n)*; eyebrows,
mata(n); eyelid,
mata(n).

face, *oain*.
 fall, *pole*.
 fan (verb), *pua₂*.
 far, *so*.
 farewell, *aloe, hau(n)*.
 fart, *ehun*.
 fast, *kaklain*.
 fasten, *si₁*.
 fat, *hian, mair*.
 father, *ama(n)*; father-
 in-law, *pani*.
 favourable (of wind), *tjoi*.
 feast, *akawari, pakrau*,
te₂.
 feather, *hulu(n), manu*.
 feed, *hopu, tjetje*.
 feel, *galas, patap*.

fell, *latji₁, leli*.
 female, *hahata, inan(e)*.
 festive meal, *te₂*.
 fetch, *la₄*.
 fever, *panas*.
 field, *namo(n), te(h)a*.
 fight, *rohite*.
 fill, *ru, tepa*.
 find, *tōk, tomo*.
 fine, *radja*.
 fine (penal sum), *djendja*.
 fine (verb), *djendja*.
 finger, *hata, kemoani*,
lima; finger-ring, *lima*.
 finish, *ahoⁿ*.
 finished, *puhik*.
 fire, *ai₂, aimori(n)*; fire-
 fly, *kupai*; fire-place,
tjigin; fire-stones, *tji-*
gin.
 first, *aranak, muna, nahu*.
 fish, *meti₁*; fish-trap,
huhu.
 fish (verb), *lara, loso*.
 five, *lima*.
 fixed, *kai*.
 flank, *klohiri*.
 flat, *ramanesa, tapañ*.
 flee, *asu*.
 flee (verb), *lari*.
 flesh, *usi meran*.
 float, *pali₂*.
 flood, *pair*.
 flooded, *mohok*.
 floor, *ō, osa(n), raha*.
 flower, *ai₁, huna*.
 flute, *kui₂*.
 fly (verb), *lari*.
 fly (insect), *lale*.
 fog, *meak*.
 follow, *la₄, tjoi*.
 followers, *hunu, (i)to(n)*.
 food, *gañ, lati(n), nake*,
rera.

foot, *luku(n)*; foot-print,
luku(n).
 forbidden, *nau(n)*.
 ford, *saik*.
 fore-finger, *kemoani*.
 forehead, *paka*.
 forest, *apak, hui, hun*.
 forever, *lata*.
 forge, *tutu₁*.
 forgetful, *klen*.
 formerly, *muna*.
 four, *ak*.
 fowl, *manu*.
 framboesia, *ihi(n)*.
 friend, *lok, tjurus*; friends
 and relations, *tjurus*.
 frog, *leta*.
 from, *nai(n)*; from under-
 neath, *orañ*.
 fruit, *ai₁, huaⁿ*.
 fry, *lewi*.
 frying-pan, *kuali* (Mal.).
 full, *tepa*.
 fumigate, *lena'uk*.
 furious, *garak, peha*.
 further, *rarū*.

gall, *tagus*.
 gallant, *garak*.
 garden, *namo(n), te(h)a*;
 garden with bee-nests,
kola.
 garret, *werahan*.
 gather, *ruru*.
 get, *sere*; get ill, *tōk, peu*.
 ghost, *ata, nitu*.
 ginger, *lia*.
 girdle, *kakoras*.
 girl, *hahata*.
 give, *ne, suri(n)*; give
 back, *ne*; give in charge,
suri(n); give up, *nō*,
suri(n).
 go, *aloe, hia, la₄, ma₁*,
sō, sua, ti; go ashore,

<i>туру(n)</i> ; go away, <i>lihu</i> (<i>r</i>) ₂ , <i>ti</i> ; go back, <i>halik</i> . <i>re(i)</i> ; go by, <i>la</i> ₄ ; go down, <i>nehu</i> ; go from inland to coast, <i>туру(n)</i> . goat, <i>pipi</i> . gobble up, <i>resek</i> . going to, <i>ma</i> ₁ . gold, <i>lau(n)</i> . gone, <i>mia</i> , <i>puhik</i> . gong, <i>talo</i> . good, <i>hau(n)</i> , <i>radja</i> . goodness, <i>lagu</i> . goods, <i>nanakon</i> , <i>osa</i> . gourd, <i>keku</i> , <i>le</i> . govern, <i>djaga</i> . gradually, <i>tjatjoan</i> . granary, <i>ruma</i> . grandfather, <i>upun</i> . grandmother, <i>upun</i> . grass, <i>nau</i> . grass-hopper, <i>kuleo</i> . grave, <i>klutu</i> . gravel, <i>krarak</i> . grease, <i>hian</i> . green, <i>mosoñ</i> . grill, <i>paru</i> . grope, <i>galas</i> . ground, <i>ra(ra)</i> . grow, <i>mori</i> , <i>nupuñ</i> . growl, <i>pohon</i> . grown up, <i>atji</i> , <i>namatua</i> . grumble, <i>pohon</i> . guard, <i>djaga</i> , <i>eniñ</i> . guest, <i>panage</i> . gum, <i>ai</i> ₁ , <i>djala</i> . gums, <i>irañ</i> . gun-powder, <i>latela(r)</i> . gut, <i>knen</i> . hair, <i>hulu(n)</i> , <i>kuru(n)</i> . half, <i>tena(n)</i> . half-way, <i>sala(n)</i> . <i>tena(n)</i> . hamlet, <i>krahan</i> ₁ .	hand, <i>lima</i> ; hand-lines, <i>lima</i> . hang, <i>geloñ</i> ; hang up, <i>loañ</i> . harbor, <i>on</i> . hard, <i>kai</i> . harvest, <i>kuri</i> . haul ashore, <i>re(i)</i> . haul to the sea, <i>tjono</i> . haze, <i>meak</i> . he, <i>ni</i> . head, <i>kuratun</i> , <i>kuru(n)</i> ; head-cloth, <i>hetenkurun</i> , <i>uluñ</i> ; head-hunting, <i>toluk</i> . head-rest, <i>k(a)luni</i> . healthy, <i>akamohun</i> , <i>hau(n)</i> , <i>ihi hau(n)</i> , <i>tjirin</i> . heap, <i>huhun</i> . hear, <i>liu</i> ₁ . heart, <i>huañ</i> , <i>ralan</i> ₂ ; heart- wood, <i>ai</i> ₁ . heavy, <i>herak</i> . heel, <i>luku(n)</i> . help, <i>tulun</i> . hen, <i>manu</i> . here, <i>ge</i> , <i>la</i> ₁ , <i>namo(n)</i> , <i>ni</i> . hew, <i>leli</i> . hibiscus, <i>hau</i> ₂ . hiccough, <i>neku</i> . hide (verb), <i>djōk</i> , <i>la</i> ₄ . hide, <i>ulik</i> . high, <i>metju</i> . hill, <i>huhun</i> . him, <i>ni</i> . his, <i>ni</i> . hit, <i>nene</i> , <i>tupu</i> . hoarse, <i>li(n)</i> . hoe, <i>opi</i> . hold, <i>hia</i> . hole, <i>guran</i> , <i>liañ</i> . hollow of knee, <i>krō</i> . honey, <i>ani</i> .	hoof, <i>klusun</i> . horn, <i>norun</i> . hot, <i>panas</i> . house, <i>raha</i> ; house-post, <i>raha</i> . however, <i>pe</i> . human being, <i>ata</i> , (<i>i</i>)to(<i>n</i>). hunger, <i>klar</i> . hunt, <i>lihu(r)</i> ₁ . husband, <i>mamane</i> , <i>riun</i> . hut, <i>loho</i> . I, <i>ao</i> . ichthyosis, <i>gapa</i> . if, <i>ma</i> ₂ , <i>on(i)</i> ; if not, <i>tora</i> . ill, <i>pau</i> , <i>peu</i> . imitate, <i>tjoli</i> . improve, <i>hau(n)</i> . in, <i>la</i> ₁ , <i>ralan</i> ₂ . inconceivable, <i>nau(n)</i> . increase, <i>tañ</i> . industrious, <i>guriñ</i> . infant, <i>ana(n)</i> . inhabit, <i>tjali</i> . innumerable, <i>nau(n)</i> . in order to, <i>ma</i> ₁ , <i>otji</i> . inside, <i>ralan</i> ₂ . instruct, <i>ton</i> ₁ . intend, <i>knanan</i> . intercept, <i>teri(k)</i> . intestine, <i>knen</i> . iron, <i>mumu</i> . is, <i>atja</i> , <i>lama</i> , <i>mia</i> , <i>temnia</i> . island, <i>nusa(n)</i> . itch, <i>ihi(n)</i> . jacket, <i>haru</i> . jack-tree (artocarpus in- tegrifolia), <i>ulumaka</i> . jar, <i>kusi</i> . jump, <i>laik</i> ₁ , <i>nesu</i> , <i>sō</i> . just, <i>loloñ</i> . keep, <i>pali</i> ₁ . kernel, <i>musan</i> ₁ .
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kill, <i>edja, latji, te(a)</i> .	lift, <i>hok, resi</i> .	mangga (Mal.) (mangi- fera indica), <i>gape</i> .
kindle, <i>tjua</i> .	light, <i>puli, rema</i> .	manners, <i>hadjak</i> .
kiss, <i>me₂</i> .	light (not heavy), <i>kra</i> .	many, <i>aru₁, nau(n)</i> .
knee, <i>klulu</i> .	lightning, <i>djilat</i> .	margin, <i>heren</i> .
knife, <i>mumu, sapia, sulu-</i> <i>pia</i> .	like, <i>lusi(ma), tjas, utu</i> .	marriage, <i>hoa</i> ; marriage- gift, <i>heltin</i> .
knock, <i>goton</i> .	like (verb), <i>karak</i> .	marry, <i>hoa</i> .
know, <i>nau(n)</i> .	lime, <i>a'ur</i> .	mash, <i>lati(n)</i> .
	limping, <i>akatjohi</i> .	massage, <i>sahi, tera</i> .
ladder, <i>esa</i> .	lineage, <i>ama(n), ana(n),</i> <i>ina(n), (i)to(n), raha</i> .	mast, <i>ai₁, loi₁</i> .
ladle, <i>wogeru</i> .	little, <i>ana(n)</i> .	master, <i>rin, upun</i> .
ladle out, <i>hoki</i> .	live, <i>mori</i> ; live some- where, <i>tur</i> .	mat, <i>pitin</i> .
lake, <i>kopak</i> .	liver, <i>ate(n)</i> .	matter, <i>li₂</i> .
lament, <i>kua</i> .	lizard, <i>hurtoke, ruti, teka-</i> <i>tau, teke, toklohe</i> .	may, <i>ma₁</i> .
lamp, <i>patju</i> .	loft, <i>raha, werahan</i> .	me, <i>ao</i> .
land, <i>ra(ra)</i> .	loincloth, <i>eta, ha</i> .	measure (verb), <i>suka</i> .
land (verb), <i>sō</i> .	long, <i>aru₁, li', metju, poha,</i> <i>tuan</i> .	meat, <i>geras</i> .
landwards, <i>haik, oni₂,</i> <i>ra(ra)</i> .	long for, <i>li'</i> .	medicine, <i>upa(k)</i> .
language, <i>lir</i> .	lontar-palm, <i>aka</i> .	meet, <i>mutu, soro, tōk,</i> <i>tomo</i> ; meet in council, <i>pasu(k)</i> ; meet with, <i>tehu₁</i> .
large, <i>air</i> .	look, <i>otjo</i> ; look back, <i>ka-</i> <i>halik</i> ; look (out) for, <i>djaga, haga, otjo</i> .	melt, <i>wēn</i> .
last, <i>muri, nai(n)</i> .	loose, <i>kai, logor, ririk</i> .	merchandise, <i>osa</i> .
later, <i>muri</i> .	loosen, <i>loi₂</i> .	message, <i>karima</i> .
laugh, <i>li₁</i> .	lord, <i>rin, upun</i> .	messenger, <i>(i)to(n)</i> .
lay, <i>lorik, nō, ru, solan,</i> <i>tai, tasi, tau₃</i> .	louse, <i>uma, utu</i> .	mew, <i>kua</i> .
lazy, <i>klen</i> .	love, <i>karak, nana</i> .	middle, <i>tena(n)</i> .
lead (verb), <i>irik, re(i),</i> <i>tjatjan</i> ; lead to, <i>otji</i> .	low, <i>metju</i> .	middle (in the —), <i>lek</i> .
leaf, <i>ai₁, ron</i> .	luggage, <i>nanakon</i> .	milk, <i>susu</i> .
lean, <i>krakak</i> .	lump, <i>klutun</i> ; lump of rice, maize or millet, <i>(ka)tjuak</i> ; lump of wood, <i>ai₁</i> .	millet, <i>hetan, (ka)tjuak</i> .
leove, <i>la₄, nō, piri, ti</i> .	lungs, <i>krapan</i> .	millepede, <i>sarlia</i> .
left (-handside), <i>wiri</i> .		milt, <i>eun</i> .
leg, <i>luku(n)</i> .		mince, <i>totan</i> .
legume (kind of —), <i>kaila</i> .		mind!, <i>hau(n)</i> .
lend, <i>ne</i> .		mistake, <i>sala</i> .
length, <i>tuan</i> .		mix (up), <i>soro</i> ; mixed, <i>wagu</i> .
less, <i>aru₁</i> .	maize, <i>(ka)tjuak, krai</i> .	molest, <i>pau</i> .
let go, <i>suri(n)</i> .	make, <i>ohi</i> ; make ash- am-ed, <i>suak</i> ; make one, <i>rohima'eha</i> ; make ready, <i>solan, tetu</i> .	month, <i>hulan</i> .
level, <i>panan₁, ramanesa</i> .	male, <i>aman(e), mamane</i> .	moon, <i>hulan</i> .
liana, <i>asar</i> .	man, <i>(i)to(n), mamane,</i> <i>mamau, pa₁</i> .	more, <i>aru₁, li', rarū, tañ</i> .
lie (down), <i>hehi, heu,</i> <i>lole, popos, seka</i> .		morning, <i>panahuru</i> .
lifetime, <i>leo</i> .		mortar, <i>knehun</i> .

mortuary feast, <i>pakrau</i> .	noisy, <i>kaha</i> ₂ .	owl, <i>lakako</i> .
mosquito, <i>sisi</i> .	no matter, <i>h(a)la</i> .	ownership, <i>ene(n)</i> .
moss, <i>lumuk</i> .	no more, <i>raru</i> .	
most, <i>li'</i> .	nose, <i>kuru(n)</i> .	paddle, <i>loi</i> ₁ , <i>wese</i> .
mother, <i>ina(n)</i> ; mother-in-law, <i>pani</i> .	nostril, <i>kuru(n)</i> .	pain, <i>peu</i> .
mouldered, <i>raun</i> .	not, <i>tora</i> .	palm (of hand), <i>lima</i> .
mountain, <i>djela</i> . <i>huhun</i> , <i>kruhin</i> , <i>lete(n)</i> , <i>ulu(n)</i> , <i>utur</i> .	not even, <i>tora</i> .	pandanus, <i>ketjan</i> .
mouse, <i>lasu</i> .	nothing, <i>h(a)la</i> .	panic-stricken, <i>akadjoka</i> .
moustache, <i>nunu</i> ⁿ .	not yet, <i>nahu</i> .	paralysed, <i>krotja</i> .
mouth, <i>kahan</i> , <i>nunu</i> ⁿ .	now, <i>la</i> ₁ , <i>ni</i> , <i>sepaki</i> .	parched, <i>mate</i> .
move, <i>pigar</i> ; move away, <i>sua</i> .	oar, <i>hean</i> , <i>loi</i> ₁ .	parents-in-law, <i>pani</i> .
much, <i>aru</i> ₁ .	oblique, <i>serik</i> .	part(ly), <i>hain</i> ₂ .
mucus, <i>nuru</i> .	occupy, <i>tjali</i> .	path, <i>sala(n)</i> .
multitude, <i>rin</i> .	of, <i>nai(n)</i> .	pay, <i>badjar</i> , <i>pair</i> , <i>pais</i> , <i>tuhu</i> .
mushroom, <i>aikinin</i> .	oil, <i>dje</i> ₂ .	pea, <i>utan</i> .
my, <i>ao</i> .	old, <i>agin</i> , <i>hahek</i> , <i>laik</i> , <i>pa</i> ₁ .	peace, <i>asuran</i> , <i>hau(n)</i> .
nail, <i>k(a)lusun</i> .	on, <i>djela</i> , <i>la</i> ₁ , <i>lama</i> .	pebble, <i>hatu</i> ₂ .
name(d), <i>nean</i> .	once, <i>on(i)</i> ₁ , <i>ralan</i> ₁ ; once more, <i>ralan</i> ₁ .	peel, <i>ai</i> ₁ , <i>sai</i> ₂ .
namely, <i>on(i)</i> ₁ .	one, <i>eha</i> .	penis, <i>lasar</i> .
narrow, <i>gole</i> ₁ , <i>mekes</i> .	onion, <i>lesone</i> .	people, <i>ana(n)</i> , <i>ili(n)</i> , <i>(i)to(n)</i> .
nature, <i>lagu</i> .	only, <i>eha</i> , <i>ge</i> , <i>meha</i> , <i>mega</i> , <i>mör</i> , <i>osu(ma)</i> , <i>pesik</i> , <i>tjama</i> ₁ .	pepper, <i>us</i> .
navel, <i>kusan</i> .	open, <i>ahuk(u)</i> , <i>hele</i> , <i>loi</i> ₂ ;	perhaps, <i>gai</i> , <i>mega</i> .
near, <i>heren</i> , <i>ranik</i> .	open-handed, <i>kai</i> .	persuade, <i>tene</i> .
nearly, <i>om</i> , <i>ranik</i> .	opossum, <i>mafja</i> .	pestle, <i>alu</i> , <i>tela</i> ₁ .
neck, <i>poin</i> , <i>poka</i> .	or, <i>ē</i> , <i>te</i> ₄ , <i>tora</i> ; or else, <i>tora</i> .	pick, <i>lahuk</i> , <i>ruru</i> ; pick up, <i>ke</i> .
necklace, <i>enu</i> ₃ .	orange (Mal. <i>djeruk</i>), <i>sapuraka</i> .	piece, <i>klutun</i> ; piece of wood, <i>ai</i> ₁ .
needle, <i>giris</i> .	order (verb), <i>hopan</i> , <i>soru</i> , <i>tela</i> ₂ .	pig, <i>hahi</i> ; pigsty, <i>hahi</i> .
nephew, <i>ana(n)</i> , <i>rian</i> .	other, <i>eha</i> , <i>seluk</i> .	pigeon, <i>tutukri</i> .
nestle, <i>tapu</i> .	our, <i>ami</i> , <i>ita</i> .	pile up, <i>lutu(r)</i> .
never mind, <i>h(a)la</i> .	out (of a fire), <i>purak</i> .	pillar (ceremonial —), <i>ai</i> ₁ .
new(ly), <i>haherun</i> .	outrigger-boom, <i>kwea</i> , <i>loi</i> ₁ .	pillow, <i>k(a)luni</i> .
niece, <i>ana(n)</i> , <i>apu(n)</i> , <i>rian</i> .	outrigger-float, <i>loi</i> ₁ , <i>seman</i> .	pinang, <i>pua</i> ₁ .
night, <i>hene(n)</i> .	outside, <i>lihu(r)</i> ₂ .	pincers, <i>kalapak</i> .
nipah-palm, <i>lakudjunu</i> .	outskirt, <i>ili(n)</i> .	pinch, <i>ku</i> .
nipple, <i>susu</i> .	overcome, <i>rehi</i> .	pitiable, <i>kasian</i> .
nit, <i>utu(n)</i> .	owing to, <i>on(i)</i> ₁ .	place, <i>namo(n)</i> .
no, <i>tora</i> .		plague, <i>pau</i> .
nobody, <i>eha</i> , <i>h(a)la</i> .		plain, <i>panan</i> ₁ , <i>ramanesa</i> .
noise (make —), <i>kaha</i> ₂ .		plait, <i>heru</i> , <i>uguragi</i> .
		plant, <i>taha</i> .

plantation, <i>h(a)la</i> .	<i>senak, tula</i> ; put down,	rice, <i>gañ, hini, ihi(n)</i> ,
plate, <i>krau, lodjan</i> .	<i>lorik, nō, ru, seka</i> ,	(<i>ka</i>) <i>tjuak, rarera</i> ,
platform (in boat),	<i>senak, sop</i> ; put into,	<i>reha</i> ; rice-bird, <i>laku-</i>
<i>kratja(k), loi₁</i> .	<i>taha</i> ; put on (a dress),	<i>pera</i> ; rice-husk, <i>reha</i> ;
platter, <i>skotol</i> .	<i>hogir, senhalik</i> ; put to	rice-stalk, <i>reha</i> .
play, <i>akawari</i> .	anchor, <i>pali₂</i> ; put to-	rich, <i>heli</i> .
please, <i>otjo</i> .	gether, <i>tau₃</i> .	riddle, <i>guli</i> .
plenty, <i>pehur</i> .		rifle, <i>latela(r)</i> .
pluck, <i>kohu, lahuk</i> .	quarrel, <i>aru₂, garak</i> .	right, <i>loloñ, mōr</i> .
point to, <i>suin</i> .	quick(ly), <i>kaklain</i> .	right (-hand side), <i>wana</i> .
pointed, <i>sai₃</i> .	quite, <i>nahahulak</i> .	rim, <i>heren, lai</i> .
pond, <i>kopak</i> .	quiver, <i>rama</i> .	ripe, <i>poi₁</i> .
poor, <i>kasian</i> .		rise, <i>gale, hotu, panu,</i>
population, <i>ili(n), (i)to-</i>	rafter, <i>golu</i> .	<i>pigar</i> .
<i>(n), ralan₂</i> .	rain, <i>usan</i> .	river, <i>ēr, pair₁</i> .
pork, <i>hahi</i> .	rainbow, <i>sai₁</i> .	road, <i>sala(n)</i> .
porridge, <i>lati(n)</i> .	ransom, <i>tuhu</i> .	roast, <i>lewi, paru, tunu</i> ;
pot, <i>rana</i> .	rather, <i>mega</i> .	roasting-place, <i>kano-</i>
pound (verb), <i>pai</i> ; poun-	raw, <i>moson</i> .	<i>len</i> .
der, <i>alu, tela₁</i> .	ray, <i>siruila</i> .	rock, <i>hatu₂</i> .
pour, <i>erik, seli</i> .	ready, <i>solan</i> .	rock (verb), <i>weto</i> .
pregnant, <i>magotia</i> .	reason (for this —),	roof (of mouth), <i>irañ</i> .
prepare, <i>solan, tetu</i> .	<i>on(i)</i> .	roof-beam, <i>raha</i> .
present, <i>mia</i> .	receive, <i>sara</i> .	room, <i>kamar</i> .
prevent, <i>teri(k)</i> .	reciprocate, <i>palas</i> .	roomy, <i>gole₁</i> .
price, <i>heliñ</i> .	reconcile, <i>hau(n)</i> .	root, <i>ai₁, akar</i> .
prick, <i>taha, te₃, te(a)</i> .	reconnoitre, <i>hole</i> .	rotan, <i>ua</i> .
priest, <i>namo(n)</i> .	red, <i>mera</i> .	rot(ten), <i>hoⁿ, raun</i> .
prisoner of war, <i>hutu</i> .	refuse (verb), <i>mui</i> .	round, <i>leu</i> .
promontory, <i>tutun</i> .	refuse (dirt), <i>ahun, kak-</i>	row, <i>heañ</i> .
property, <i>ene(n), heli,</i>	<i>rofa</i> .	rudder, <i>kutjuhiuk, loi₁</i> .
<i>osa</i> .	regulate, <i>loloñ</i> .	rumour, <i>ani(n)</i> .
prosperous, <i>reku</i> .	relax, <i>akawari</i> .	run away, <i>lari</i> ; run
prostrate, <i>lole, popos</i> .	religion, <i>pisai</i> .	around, <i>lete</i> .
provide for, <i>tjetje</i> .	remember, <i>age, knanan</i> .	
provisions, <i>nalu(n)</i> .	repay, <i>halas, palas</i> .	sack, <i>kakalu₂</i> .
prow, <i>loi₁</i> .	request, <i>heti</i> .	sacred, <i>luli(n)</i> .
pull down, <i>sasa</i> ; pull off,	reside, <i>la₄</i> .	safe(ty), <i>akamohun,</i>
<i>tahuk</i> .	resin, <i>ai₁, djala</i> .	<i>hau(n), tjirin</i> .
pulp (of fruit), <i>ai₁</i> .	rest, <i>lole</i> .	saffron, <i>kuna</i> .
pulse, <i>lima</i> .	return, <i>halik, la₄, re(i),</i>	sago, <i>kamariu</i> .
pumpkin, <i>keliti</i> .	<i>sō</i> .	sail, <i>loi₁</i> .
put, <i>tai, tasi, tau₃</i> ; put	revenge, <i>halas</i> .	sail (verb), <i>hai, hia,</i>
against, <i>tatu</i> ; put away,	revile, <i>woru</i> .	<i>sopar</i> .
<i>lea, nō, sahur, seka</i> .	rib, <i>krahan₂</i> .	salt, <i>masi(n)</i> .

same, <i>eha</i> ; same as, <i>lusi-</i> (<i>ma</i>), <i>tjas</i> , <i>tjoi</i> , <i>utu</i> .	shoot, <i>suri(n)</i> .	smoke (verb), <i>mama</i> , <i>moak</i> ; smoke, <i>ai₂</i> ; smoke-dry, <i>lena'uk</i> .
sand, <i>moin</i> ; sand-bank, <i>sarun</i> ; sand-bar, <i>sarun</i> ; sandfly, <i>gogoi</i> .	shop, <i>toko</i> .	snail, <i>uman</i> .
sap, <i>ai₁</i> .	short, <i>metju</i> , <i>puir</i> .	snake, <i>sau (tali)</i> , <i>ula</i> .
satiated, <i>pehur</i> .	shoulder, <i>pas₂</i> .	snare, <i>rokan</i> .
say, <i>aru₂</i> , <i>tapa</i> .	show, <i>suin</i> ; show the way, <i>tjatjan</i> .	sneeze, <i>pahi</i> .
scabbard, <i>opi</i> .	shrimp, <i>urañ</i> .	snout, <i>nunuⁿ</i> .
scar, <i>putis</i> .	shroud, <i>kopa</i> , <i>pitin</i> .	so, <i>on(i)₁</i> ; so that, <i>otji</i> .
scold, <i>gui</i> .	shut, <i>tatañ</i> .	soft, <i>kai</i> , <i>mahañ</i> .
scrape, <i>djuhik</i> .	shy, <i>seru</i> .	sole, <i>luku(n)</i> .
scratch, <i>djuhik</i> .	sick, <i>mamau</i> , <i>peu</i> .	some, <i>eha</i> ; something, <i>h(a)la</i> .
scurf, <i>ih(i)n</i> .	side, <i>klohir</i> ; side (one —), <i>ka'ehu(n)</i> ; side (other —), <i>keha</i> , <i>pair</i> .	son, <i>ana(n)</i> .
sea, <i>lo(r)</i> , <i>ralan₂</i> , <i>tjahi</i> ; sea-shore, <i>tjahi</i> ; sea- water, <i>tjahi</i> .	sigh, <i>masa</i> .	song, <i>sani</i> ; son-in-law, <i>panan₂</i> .
season, <i>lehun</i> , <i>tepun</i> , <i>usan</i> .	silver, <i>lau(n)</i> .	sort, <i>lagu</i> .
seat, <i>ai₁</i> .	sin, <i>sala</i> .	soul, <i>gaton</i> .
see, <i>otjo</i> .	sinew, <i>urak</i> .	sound, <i>li(n)</i> , <i>tulen</i> .
seek, <i>haga</i> .	sink, <i>mohok</i> .	sour, <i>mohan</i> .
sell, <i>hañ</i> .	sirih, <i>malu</i> ; sirih-bag, <i>latji₂</i> ; sirih-bowl, <i>kai-</i> <i>sarun</i> .	source, <i>ēr</i> .
send, <i>hopan</i> , <i>natus</i> .	sister, <i>ali(n)</i> , <i>nara(n)</i> ; sister-in-law, <i>rian</i> .	south, <i>harak</i> .
separate, <i>here</i> .	sit (down), <i>pasu(k)</i> , <i>tili</i> .	sow, <i>rere</i> .
serve up, <i>hoki</i> .	six, <i>nen</i> .	space (under floor), <i>osa(n)</i> .
serving as, <i>ma₃</i> .	skin, <i>ulik</i> .	spars, <i>loi₁</i> , <i>selak</i> .
set (sun etc.), <i>nehu</i> .	skull, <i>kuratun</i> , <i>kuru(n)</i> .	speak, <i>aru₂</i> , <i>orun</i> , <i>tapa</i> .
set adrift, <i>sopar</i> .	sky, <i>djela</i> .	spear, <i>te(a)</i> .
settle, <i>loloñ</i> .	slanting, <i>serik</i> .	speech, <i>lir</i> .
seven, <i>itu</i> .	slash, <i>latji₁</i> .	spherical, <i>kumu</i> .
sew, <i>ka'uk</i> .	sleep, <i>apu</i> , <i>mate</i> ; sleep- ing-mat, <i>pitin</i> .	spider, <i>djalénahun</i> .
shake, <i>rurak</i> .	sleepy, <i>mata(n)</i> .	spit, <i>purus</i> .
shallow, <i>kele</i> , <i>kresen</i> .	slender, <i>mes</i> .	spittle, <i>apore(n)</i> .
shark, <i>iu</i> .	slime, <i>nuru</i> .	spoiled, <i>naprohan</i> .
sharp, <i>panas</i> , <i>sai₃</i> , <i>tain</i> .	sling, <i>putu</i> .	spoon, <i>hahuru</i> .
sharpen, <i>kosa</i> .	slippery, <i>milañ</i> .	spread, <i>hele</i> .
sheath, <i>kapán</i> .	slope, <i>lai</i> .	spring, <i>ēr</i> .
shell, <i>sisuhun</i> , <i>siogo</i> ; shell-fish, <i>kima</i> , <i>si₂</i> .	slowly, <i>tjatjoan</i> .	square, <i>tila</i> .
shield, <i>kalau</i> .	slug, <i>uman</i> .	squat, <i>sakatjitji</i> .
shin, <i>luku(n)</i> .	small, <i>ana(n)</i> .	squinting, <i>biñks</i> , <i>mata(n)</i> .
ship, <i>loi₁</i> , <i>sapan</i> .	small-pox, <i>kolak</i> .	stammer, <i>likama'a</i> .
shiver, <i>rurak</i> .	smell, <i>hoⁿ</i> , <i>rain</i> .	standing (high —), <i>un-</i> <i>tali</i> .
shoal, <i>ulu(n)</i> .	smile, <i>nagamanus</i> .	star, <i>tu</i> .

start, *gai(n)*.
starvation, *klar*.
starve(d), *mate*.
stay, *la₄*, *lama*, *ma₁*, *mia*,
tur.
steal, *ku₂*.
steep, *sasim*.
steer, *hia*.
stench, *hoⁿ*, *rain*.
stern, *loi₁*.
stick, *ai₁*, *kasuan*.
stiff, *kai*.
stir, *kole*.
stone, *hatu₂*; stone of
fruits, *musan₁*.
stop, *ahoⁿ*.
storm, *rihuk₂*.
story, *tjotja*.
stow away, *lea*.
strew about, *rere*.
strike, *kala*, *pas₁*, *tupu*.
string together, *tupi*.
strong, *hu*.
struck, *nene*.
stuck, *kai*.
stupid, *monon*.
successively, *tulima*.
suck, *mokak*, *mokis*, *res*,
resek.
sugar-cane, *tehu₂*.
summit, *utur*.
sun, *leo*.
surround, *leu*.
swallow, *konu*.
swamp, *kopak*.
swarm, *ulu(n)*.
sweat, *kleman*.
sweet potato, *hamitjai*.
swelling, *pupu*.
swim, *nani*.
swing (verb), *weto*.
swollen, *pupu*.
sword, *opi*.

table (sacrificial —),
helik.
taboo, *kero*, *luli(n)*.
tail, *iku*.
take, *ohik*; take along,
hia; take ashore, *sō*;
take away, *a'uk*, *ohik*;
take care of, *pali₁*,
tjetje; take leave, *nō*;
take out, *lihu(r)₂*; take
up, *hok*, *hua₁*, *koi*,
ohik, *uhuk*.
tale, *tjotja*.
talk, *tapa*, *wanak*.
tall, *air*.
talon, *wesok*.
tame, *maru*.
taut, *kai*.
tax, *badjar*.
tears, *mata(n)*.
tease, *ahuru*, *ape*, *haga*.
teat, *susu*.
tendon, *urak*.
terrified, *akadjoka*.
terrify, *lero*.
testicle, *lasar*.
that (conj.), *otji*.
that (pron.), *go*, *ni*, *sa'*,
sepak.
thatch, *hulu(n)*, *raha*.
their, *hira*.
them, *hira*.
then, *atji*, *la₁*, *lata*, *mega*,
ni, *on(i)*, *puhik*.
there, *la₁*, *ni*.
therefore, *tjoi*.
thereupon, *atji*.
they, *hira*.
thick, *kawan*.
thigh, *ihi(n)*.
thin, *mes*.
think of, *knanan*.
this, *ge*, *ni*.
thorn, *ai₁*; thorn-back,
siruila.

thousand, *rihun*.
three, *telu*.
thresh, *pai*.
thrive, *mori*, *pari*.
throat, *ape(n)*, *genu*.
throw, *asik*, *ko*, *patik*,
potuk, *puli*, *rego*, *sō*,
sop, *suri(n)*, *te₃*.
thrust, *taha*, *te₃*.
thumb, *hata₂*.
thunder, *gogu*.
thus, *on(i)₁*.
tie, *hutu*, *knanama*, *ligu*,
si₁, *tupi*.
till, *ratana*, *tjaunla*.
till (the ground), *hau₁*,
taha.
time, *lata*, *leo*, *ralan₁*,
tepun.
tired, *loin*.
to, *la₁*, *ma₁*, *oni₂*.
toadstool, *aikinin*.
tobacco, *tabaku*.
toe, *hata₂*.
together, *tema*, *tjas*; to-
gether with, *oro*, *tjas*.
to-morrow, *joar*.
tongs, *kalapak*.
tongue, *nañ*.
tooth, *agi*, *nesu*.
top, *djela*, *kuru(n)*, *uhur*;
on top, *tutu(n)*, *utur*.
top (spinning —), *ekun*.
torch (damar —), *djala*,
hulu.
torment, *pau*.
tortuous, *wekuñ*.
touch, *hetu*; touch at, *sari*.
towards, *oni₂*.
trade, *djagan*.
trader, *toko*.
trample, *hapa*.
trap, *rokan*.
travel, *aloe*, *hole*, *la₄*,
lama.

tread, <i>hapa</i> .	vanquish, <i>rehi</i> .	which, <i>me</i> ₁ .
tree, <i>ai</i> ₁ , <i>pula</i> , <i>un</i> .	vegetable food, <i>gañ</i> .	whine, <i>kua</i> .
trick, <i>anak</i> .	very, <i>li'</i> , <i>tatú</i> ; very much, <i>li'</i> , <i>tatú</i> .	whiskers, <i>nunu</i> ⁿ .
troop, <i>rin</i> .	vessel, <i>enian</i> .	white, <i>meso</i> , <i>puti</i> .
trouble, <i>karkara</i> , <i>lemusan</i> , <i>susa</i> .	village, <i>ili(n)</i> , <i>(i)to(n)</i> .	white iron, <i>mumu</i> .
truly, <i>môr</i> .	villagers, <i>ana(n)</i> , <i>ili(n)</i> .	who, <i>hari</i> .
trust, <i>pisai</i> .	visit, <i>otjo</i> .	whole, <i>tema</i> ; wholly, <i>isi(n)</i> .
tuber, <i>uhi</i> .	voice, <i>li(n)</i> , <i>lir</i> .	why, <i>h(a)la</i> , <i>on(i)</i> ₁ .
tuberous plant, <i>uhi</i> .	vomit, <i>muta</i> .	wide, <i>gole</i> ₁ , <i>logor</i> .
tumour, <i>isu</i> , <i>pupu</i> .	wade, <i>saik</i> .	widow(er), <i>halu</i> .
turn, <i>pokek</i> .	waist-band, <i>kakoras</i> .	wife, <i>riun</i> .
turtle, <i>enu</i> ₂ .	wait, <i>erak</i> .	wild, <i>seru</i> .
twine, <i>puta</i> ₂ .	wake, <i>ahuk(u)</i> ; wake up, <i>eran</i> .	willing, <i>mui</i> .
twins, <i>ana(n)</i> .	wall, <i>kadjeri</i> .	wind, <i>ani(n)</i> .
two, <i>rua</i> .	wander, <i>hole</i> .	window, <i>djenela</i> .
udder, <i>susu</i> .	want to, <i>ma</i> ₁ .	wing, <i>kaha</i> ₁ .
ugly, <i>radja</i> .	war, <i>rohite</i> ; war-chief, <i>asuain</i> .	winnow, <i>jokak</i> , <i>katahe(n)</i> .
ulcer, <i>isu</i> .	waringin (banyan-tree), <i>djagai</i> , <i>nunu</i> .	witch, <i>gagan</i> , <i>nitu</i> .
umbilical cord, <i>kusan</i> .	warm, <i>panas</i> .	with, <i>oro</i> , <i>tau</i> ₂ .
unceasingly, <i>masun</i> .	wash, <i>paku</i> , <i>wase</i> .	withdraw, <i>sua</i> .
uncle, <i>ama(n)</i> , <i>lain</i> .	wash-strake, <i>loi</i> ₁ .	within, <i>ralan</i> ₂ .
under, <i>lên</i> , <i>orañ</i> ; under here, <i>orañ</i> ; underneath, <i>orañ</i> ; underside, <i>lên</i> .	wasp, <i>leur</i> .	wizard, <i>gagan</i> .
underdone, <i>matak</i> .	water, <i>êr</i> .	woman, <i>hahata</i> , <i>hahek</i> , <i>(i)to(n)</i> , <i>pipui</i> .
understanding, <i>anak</i> .	wave, <i>oruk</i> .	wood, <i>ai</i> ₁ .
underwood, <i>pohan</i> .	way, <i>sala(n)</i> .	word, <i>tapa</i> .
undo, <i>loi</i> ₂ .	we, <i>ami</i> , <i>ita</i> .	work, <i>karia</i> .
unfold, <i>hele</i> .	weak, <i>mahañ</i> .	world, <i>namo(n)</i> .
unknown, <i>nau(n)</i> .	wedge, <i>palaneta</i> .	worm, <i>tjama</i> ₂ .
unmarried, <i>hoa</i> .	weeds, <i>suk</i> .	worn out, <i>raun</i> .
unripe, <i>moson</i> .	weep, <i>kua</i> .	wound, <i>mani</i> , <i>niti</i> .
until, <i>otji</i> , <i>ratan</i> .	weigh anchor, <i>resi</i> .	wrong, <i>sala</i> .
up, <i>djela</i> , <i>oni</i> ₂ , <i>tutu(n)</i> .	weld, <i>tutu</i> .	year, <i>ton</i> ₂ ; yearly, <i>ton</i> ₂ ; every other year, <i>ton</i> ₂ .
urinate, <i>tarik</i> .	well-to-do, <i>reku</i> .	yellow, <i>pola</i> .
us, <i>ami</i> , <i>ita</i> .	west, <i>dje</i> ₁ , <i>harak</i> .	yes, <i>i</i> ⁿ .
use as, <i>ohi</i> .	wet, <i>tjos</i> .	yesterday, <i>marahin</i> , <i>pana</i> - <i>huru</i> .
use(ful), <i>guna</i> .	what, <i>h(a)la</i> .	you, <i>o</i> ; your, <i>o</i> .
using, <i>otji</i> .	when, <i>leo</i> , <i>ma</i> ₂ .	youngest, <i>aimori(n)</i> ₂ .
vagina, <i>ui</i> .	where, <i>la</i> ₁ , <i>me</i> ₁ .	youth, <i>mamane</i> .
valley, <i>leun</i> .	whet, <i>kose</i> ; whetstone, <i>katji</i> , <i>mana</i> .	
valuable, <i>heli</i> .		

